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FIVE APPEALS
TO
AMERICAN PATRIOTISM

ISSUED BY
HONGWANJI MISSION
HONOLULU, T. H.

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FIVE APPEALS

TO

AMERICAN PATRIOTISM

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Declarlition of Independence

Washington's Farewell Address

Monroe's Seventh Annual Message

Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech

Wilson's War Message

Issued by
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Honolulu, T. H. .
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PREFACE

Rev. Y. Imamura

Owing to the earnest admonitions of the representative of the Citizenship Educational Committee, our Hongwanji Mission began to take its part in the work of enlightening the young Japanese minds two years ago. To my great satisfaction, the first general meeting held at the Japanese High School under our auspices was a success. Since then we have been doing our utmost to help out the work of the campaigners by counsel, suggestion, or taking the young men under our guidance to the meetings. We have now two representatives in the supervisory committee. That we have been unable to make particular and substantial contribution toward the end in view has been, however, my constant regret.

Now is the time for those living in this country to be more than mere spectators. The life of gratitude and thanksgiving is a fundamental principle of our fellow-believers. Today is the most opportune time to evoke this spirit in their minds, and thus we have begun our movement toward the control and conservation of food supplies. Since the United States has declared that a state of belligerency exists between this country and the German Empire, President Wilson has read his war-message before the joint session of Congress, and the War Bill for \$7,000,000,000 has been rushed like a shot through the Legislature. America is now alive with patriotism. This affords a splendid opportunity for inspiring the American spirit in the sons of the soil, and the President's now famous proclamation with its elevated devotion to

democracy, furnishes the very text for inculcating true Americanism.

One writer has gone so far as to call it one of the four historical papers, the others being the Declaration of Independence, the Farewell Address of Washington, and the Gettysburg Speech of Lincoln. This led to the re-reading of these papers. As to the first, it is needless to make any comment. As to the second, we find there the father of his country, out of solicitude for the well-being of his fellow citizens, urging them with the disinterested freedom of a departing friend, to perpetuate union and brotherly love and to maintain a free constitution. Lincoln's speech, concise and short as it is, will never be forgotten, if only for the one phrase "The government of the people, by the people, for the people." These four addresses together with the seventh annual message of President Monroe, in which one finds the text of the famous doctrine bearing his name, are well worth reading and re-reading by any American whatever his origin. These must be put into memory just as "the five vows" of the late Emperor of Japan, his Edict on Education and his Proclamation of 1908 are memorized by almost every Japanese. They are the right and long wanted scripture of American spirit, and I hope they will be adopted as such in the education for American citizenship.

To facilitate the right understanding of the message these scriptures bear to the minds of our young, I have taken pains to make a Japanese version of them, and here it is printed side by side with the originals. This, I hope, will also afford to the parents of the young men born here the chance of access to, and appreciation of the American spirit, which, heretofore, has been wanting. Those of Shinshu faith are earnest in the belief that in Shinran-

ism is the foundation of their spiritual life, and that the laws of the land are the foundation of civil life. Since we live in this country, we must be faithful and obedient to the laws of the country. Moreover, it is generally considered that those who firmly believe in religion and faithfully obey the national laws are the most desirable citizens. To be faithful and obedient to the Land of the Stars and Stripes, one must thoroughly understand the spirit of the country. In order to do this it will be most desirable to truly comprehend the aforesaid five appeals to American patriotism.

(Rev.) Y. IMAMURA,
Hongwanji Mission,
Honolulu.

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

June 1st, 1917.

Honolulu, Hawaii, June 1, 1917.

The Declaration of Independence is the Chart and Compass by which, through the Constitution, the United States of America established itself a nation.

The Farewell Address by George Washington inspired the fathers of the nation. The Gettysburg Address of Abraham Lincoln inspired the preservers of the nation. The Great Message of Woodrow Wilson has inspired the people to place our country in the front rank of the nations of the world.

While sentiment thrills our hearts and minds, let us remember it is only through deeds of profoundest wisdom, sacrifice and force that Washington, Lincoln and Wilson stand peerless; and that deeds, not words, must mark every coming hero.

LUCIUS. E. PINKHAM,
Governor of Hawaii.

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

Honolulu, Hawaii, June 8th, 1917.

Rev. Y. Imamura,

Bishop Hongwanji Mission,
Honolulu, T. H.

Dear Sir: I heartily commend your plan to place before the American born Japanese in this Territory, the five appeals to American patriotism namely, the American Declaration of Independence; Farewell Address of Washington; Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech, President Wilson's War Message and President Monroe's Monroe Doctrine Message.

The children born in this Territory should receive every possible educational influence directing their attention to unwavering loyalty to the United States of America, the nation of their birth.

You may be sure that your efforts in line with this purpose will be appreciated by all true American citizens.

Yours very truly,

HONOLULU STAR-BULLETIN, LTD.,
W. R. FARRINGTON,
General Business Manager.

INTRODUCTORY LETTER

Honolulu, Hawaii, June 21, 1917.

Mr. Y. Imamura,
Bishop, Hongwanji Mission,
Honolulu, T. H.

My dear Bishop: It is particularly gratifying to me to be informed that you purpose issuing as a pamphlet from your mission a reprint of the five great state papers of American history, the words of Jefferson, Washington, Lincoln, Monroe and Wilson, which follow each other in fitting sequence in the tale of American liberty and the growth of democracy and the rights of man. I have no doubt that the wide distribution you will be able to give to these patriotic words will bring to many thousands of the American young men and women of Hawaii of Japanese birth, a clearer understanding of true Americanism, a brighter light upon the fundamental principles of our democracy, a wider view of that patriotism which Americans must have to hasten the great mission our nation has been called upon to perform for the world.

The Declaration of Independence, Washington's Farewell Address, Lincoln's Gettysburg Speech, the Declaration of the Monroe Doctrine and the War Proclamation of President Wilson, each emphasizes the not always recognized truth that unselfish service, which is not cramped within geographic or national limit, is the highest form of patriotism. Service to mankind is breathed throughout each of these inspiring documents, wherein one may search in vain for any self-seeking, any tinge of jealousy, or suggestion of jingoism.

This is the patriotism that should be taught, that is the patriotism that should be developed amongst those of our community of Japanese stock. It is a form of true Americanism that should come the more natural to the Americans of Japanese birth inasmuch as it only a transplanting and an enlarging of the spirit of Nippon, the spirit that places the weal of the many above the interest of the individual.

We want a patriotism of the heart, and such is the patriotism taught in the five great papers you propose to circulate.

I believe you are doing a great work for the American youths of Hawaii of Japanese birth, and a great work as well for Hawaii and for all the people of this Territory, not alone in the reprinting of these great documents but in much else that you have done along similar lines.

May the success of this venture exceed even your fondest hopes.

Yours very truly,

R. O. MATHESON (Signed).

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

In Congress July 14, 1776.

**THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF
THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES
OF AMERICA**



When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bonds which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed.

But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former

system of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has resolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasion on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolution, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined, with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States;

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond sea to be tried for pretended offenses:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government and enlarging its boundaries, so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering, fundamentally, the forms of our

governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun, with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them, from time to time, of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the cir-

cumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare,

That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do.

And for the support of this declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honors.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire—Josiah Bartlett, Wm. Whipple, Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts Bay—Saml. Adams, John Adams, Robt. Teat Paine, Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode Island—Step. Hopkins, William Ellery.

Connecticut—Roger Sherman, Saml. Huntington, Wm. Williams, Oliver Wolcott.

New York—Wm. Floyd, Phil. Livingston, Frans. Lewis, Lewis Morris.

New Jersey—Richard Stockton, Jno. Witherspoon, Fras. Hopkinson, John Hart, Abra. Clark.

Pennsylvania—Robt. Morris, Benjamin Rush, Benja. Franklin, John Morton, Geo. Clymer, Jas Smith, Geo. Taylor, James Wilson, Geo. Ross.

Delaware—Caesar Rodney, Geo. Read, Tho. McKean.

Maryland—Samuel Chase, Wm. Paca, Thos. Stone, Charles Carroll, of Carrolton.

Virginia—Geo. Wythe, Richard Henry Lee, Th. Jefferson, Benja. Harrison, Thos. Nelson, Jr., Francis Lightfoot Lee, Carter Braxton.

North Carolina—Wm. Hooper, Joseph Hewes, John Penn.

South Carolina—Edward Rutledge, Thos. Heyward, Jun.; Arthur Middleton.

Georgia—Button Gwinnett, Lyman Hall, Geo. Walton.

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S
FAREWELL ADDRESS
TO THE PEOPLE
OF THE UNITED STATES

Sept. 17, 1796

Friends and Fellow Citizens: The period for a new election of a citizen, to administer the executive government of the United States, being not far distant, and the time actually arrived, when your thoughts must be employed in designating the person, who is to be clothed with that important trust, it appears to me proper, especially as it may conduce to a more distinct expression of the public voice, that I should now apprise you of the resolution I have formed, to decline being considered among the number of those, out of whom a choice is to be made.

I beg you, at the same time, to do me the justice to be assured, that this resolution has not been taken, without a strict regard to all the considerations appertaining to the relation, which binds a dutiful citizen to his country; and that, in withdrawing the tender of service which silence in my situation might imply, I am influenced by no diminution of zeal for your future interest; no deficiency of grateful respect for your past kindness; but am supported by a full conviction that the step is compatible with both.

The acceptance of, and continuance hitherto in the office to which your suffrages have twice called me, have been a uniform sacrifice of inclination to the opinion of duty, and to a deference for what appeared to be your desire. I constantly hoped, that it would have been much earlier in my power, consistently with motives, which I was not at liberty to disregard, to return to that retirement, from which I had been reluctantly drawn. The strength of my inclination to do this, previous to the last election, had even led to the preparation of an address to declare it to you; but mature reflection on the then perplexed and critical posture of our affairs with

foreign nations, and the unanimous advice of persons entitled to my confidence, impelled me to abandon the idea.

I rejoice that, the state of your concerns, external as well as internal, no longer renders the pursuit of inclination incompatible with the sentiment of duty, or propriety; and am persuaded whatever partiality may be retained for my services, that in the present circumstances of our country, you will not disapprove my determination to retire.

The impressions with which I first undertook the arduous trust, were explained on the proper occasion. In the discharge of this trust, I will only say, that I have with good intentions, contributed towards the organization and administration of the government, the best exertions of which a very fallible judgment was capable. Not unconscious, in the outset, of the inferiority of my qualifications, experience in my own eyes, perhaps still more in the eyes of others, has strengthened the motives to diffidence of myself; and every day the increasing weight of years admonishes me more and more, that the shade of retirement is as necessary to me as it will be welcome. Satisfied that if any circumstances have given peculiar value to my services, they were temporary, I have the consolation to believe, that while choice and prudence invite me to quit the political scene, patriotism does not forbid it.

In looking forward to the moment, which is intended to terminate the career of my public life, my feelings do not permit me to suspend the deep acknowledgment of that debt of gratitude which I owe to my beloved country, for the many honors it has conferred upon me; still more for the steadfast confidence with which it has supported me; and for the opportunities I have thence en-

joyed of manifesting my inviolable attachment, by services faithful and persevering, though in usefulness unequal to my zeal. If benefits have resulted to our country from these services, let it always be remembered to your praise, and as an instructive example in our annals, that under circumstances in which the passions, agitated in every direction, were liable to mislead, amidst appearances sometimes dubious,—vicissitudes of fortune often discouraging,—in situations in which not unfrequently want of success has countenanced the spirit of criticism—the constantcy of your support was the essential prop of the efforts, and a guarantee of the plans by which they were effected. Profoundly penetrated with this idea, I shall carry it with me to my grave, as a strong incitement to unceasing vows that Heaven may continue to you the choicest tokens of its beneficence—that your union and brotherly affection may be perpetual—that the free constitution, which is the work of your hands, may be sacredly maintained—that its administration in every department may be stamped with wisdom and virtue—that, in fine, the happiness of the people of these States, under the auspices of liberty, may be made complete, by so careful a preservation and so prudent a use of this blessing as will acquire to them the glory of recommending it to the applause, the affection and adoption of every nation which is yet a stranger to it.

Here, perhaps, I ought to stop. But a solicitude for your welfare, which cannot end but with my life, and the apprehension of danger, natural to that solicitude, urge me on an occasion like the present, to offer to your solemn contemplation, and to recommend to your frequent review, some sentiments, which are the result of much reflection, of no inconsiderable observation, and

which appear to me all important to the permanency of your felicity as a people. These will be offered to you with the more freedom, as you can only see in them the disinterested warnings of a parting friend, who can possibly have no personal motive to bias his counsel. Nor can I forget, as an encouragement to it, your indulgent reception of my sentiments on a former and not dissimilar occasion.

Interwoven as is the love of liberty with every ligament of your hearts, no recommendation of mine is necessary to fortify or confirm the attachment.

The unity of government which constitutes you one people is also now dear to you. It is justly so; for it is a main pillar in the edifice of your real independence, the support of your tranquility at home, your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; of that very liberty which you so highly prize. But as it is easy to foresee, that from different causes and from different quarters, much pains will be taken, many artifices employed, to weaken in your minds the conviction of this truth; as this is the point in your political fortress against which the batteries of internal and external enemies will be most constantly and actively (though often covertly and insidiously) directed, it is of infinite moment, that you should properly estimate the immense value of your national Union, to your collective and individual happiness; that you should cherish a cordial, habitual and immovable attachment to it; accustoming yourselves to think and speak of it as of the Palladium of your political safety and prosperity; watching for its preservation with jealous anxiety; discountenancing whatever may suggest even a suspicion that it can in any event be abandoned; and indignantly frowning upon the first dawning of ev-

ery attempt to alienate any portion of our country from the rest, or to enfeeble the sacred ties which now link together the various parts.

For this you have every inducement of sympathy and interest. Citizens by birth or choice, of a common country, that country has a right to concentrate your affections. The name of American, which belongs to you, in your national capacity, must always exalt the just pride of patriotism, more than any appellation derived from local discriminations. With slight shades of difference, you have the same religion, manners, habits and political principles. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together; the independence and the liberty you possess are the work of joint councils, and joint efforts, of common dangers, sufferings and successes.

But these consideration, however powerfully they address themselves to your sensibility, are greatly outweighed by those which apply more immediately to your interest. Here every portion of our country finds the most commanding motives for carefully guarding and preserving the union of the whole.

The North, in an unrestrained intercourse with the South, protected by the equal laws of a common government, finds in the productions of the latter, great additional resources of maritime and commercial enterprise and precious materials of manufacturing industry.—The South in the same intercourse, benefitting by the agency of the North, sees its agriculture grow and its commerce expand. Turning partly into its own channels the seamen of the North, it finds its particular navigation invigorated;— and while it contributes, in different ways, to nourish and increase the general mass of the national navigation, it looks forward to the protection of a mari-

time strength, to which itself is unequally adapted. The East, in a like intercourse with the West, already finds, and in the progressive improvement of interior communications, by land and water, will more and more find a valuable vent for the commodities which it brings from abroad, or manufactures at home. The West derives from the East supplies requisite to its growth and comfort-and what is perhaps of still greater consequence, it must of necessity owe the secure enjoyment of indispensable outlets for its own productions to the weight, influence, and the future maritime strength of the Atlantic side of the Union, directed by an indissoluble community of interest as one nation. Any other tenure by which the West can hold this essential advantage, whether derived from its own separate strength, or from an apostate and unnatural connection with any foreign power, must be intrinsically precarious.

While then every part of our country thus feels an immediate and particular interest in Union, all the parts combined cannot fail to find in the united mass of means and efforts greater strength, greater resource, proportionably greater security from external danger, a less frequent interruption of their peace by foreign nations; and what is of incalculable value! they must derive from union an exemption from those broils and wars between themselves, which so frequently afflict neighboring countries, not tied together by the same government; which their own rivalships alone would be sufficient to produce, but which opposite foreign alliances, attachments and intrigues would stimulate and embitter. Hence likewise they will avoid the necessity of those overgrown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty, and which are to be regarded as

particularly hostile to Republican liberty. In this sense it is, that your Union ought to be considered as a main prop of your liberty, and that the love of the one ought to endear to you the preservation of the other.

These considerations speak a persuasive language to every reflecting and virtuous mind, and exhibit the continuance of the Union as a primary object of patriotic desire. Is there a doubt, whether a common government can embrace so large a sphere? Let experience solve it. To listen to mere speculation in such a case were criminal. We are authorized to hope that a proper organization of the whole, with the auxiliary agency of governments for the respective subdivisions, will afford a happy issue to the experiment. 'Tis well worth a fair and full experiment. With such powerful and obvious motives to Union, affecting all parts of our country, while experience shall not have demonstrated its practicability, there will always be reason to distrust the patriotism of those, who in any quarter may endeavor to weaken its bands.

In contemplating the causes which may disturb our Union, it occurs as matter of serious concern, that any ground should have been furnished for characterising parties by geographical discriminations, Northern and Southern, Atlantic and Western; whence designing men may endeavor to excite a belief that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence, within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings which spring from these misrepresentations; they tend to render alien to each other those who ought to be bound together by fraternal affection. The inhabitants of our western country

have lately had a useful lesson on this head: they have seen, in the negotiation by the Executive, and in the unanimous ratification by the Senate, of the treaty with Spain, and in the universal satisfaction at that event, throughout the United States, a decisive proof how unfounded were the suspicions propagated among them of a policy in the general government and in the Atlantic States unfriendly to their interests in regard to the Mississippi; they have been witnesses to the formation of two treaties, that with Great Britain, and that with Spain, which secure to them every thing they could desire in respect to our foreign relations, towards confirming their prosperity. Will it not be their wisdom to rely for the preservation of these advantages on the Union by which they were procured? Will they not henceforth be deaf to those advisers, if such there are, who would sever them from their brethren and connect them with aliens?

To the efficacy and permanency of your Union, a government for the whole is indispensable. No alliances, however strict, between the parts can be an adequate substitute; they must inevitably experience the infractions and interruptions which all alliances in all times have experienced. Sensible of this momentous truth, you have improved upon your first essay, by the adoption of a constitution of government better calculated than your former for an intimate Union, and for the efficacious management of your common concerns. This Government, the offspring of your own choice, uninfluenced and unawed, adopted upon full investigation and mature deliberation, completely free in its principles, in the distribution of its powers, uniting security with energy, and containing within itself a provision for its own amendment, has a just claim to your confidence and your sup-

port. Respect for its authority, compliance with its laws, acquiescence in its measures, are duties enjoined by the fundamental maxims of true liberty. The basis of our political systems is the right of the people to make and to alter their Constitutions of Government. But, the Constitution which at any time exists, 'till changed by an explicit and authentic act of the whole people, is sacredly obligatory upon all. The very idea of the power and the right of the people to establish government presupposes the duty of every individual to obey the established government.

All obstructions to the execution of the laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, control, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force—to put in the place of the delegated will of the nation, the will of a party, often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified by mutual interests. However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely in the course of time and things to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the power of the people, and to usurp for themselves the reins of government; destroying afterwards the very engines which have lifted them to unjust

dominion.

Towards the preservation of your government, and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you speedily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles however specious the pretends. One method of assault may be to effect in the forms of the constitution alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of governments, as of other human institutions—that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing constitution of a country—that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion, exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially, that for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of liberty, is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits prescribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and property.

I have already intimated to you, the danger of parties in the state, with particular reference to the founding of them on geographical discriminations. Let me now take

a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all governments, more or less stifled, controlled or repressed; but in those of the popular form it is seen in its greatest rankness and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge, natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an individual, and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of public liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight) the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise people to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the public councils and enfeeble the public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms; kindles the animosity of one part against another, foment occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the door to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the government itself through the channels of

party passions. Thus the policy and will of one country are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This within certain limits is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast, patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose. And there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched: it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into flame, lest, instead of warming, it should consume.

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country, should inspire caution, in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres, avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power; by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the guardian of the public weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some

of them in our country and under our own eyes. To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If, in the opinion of the people, the distribution or modification of the constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.

Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism, who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of men and citizens. The mere politician, equally with the pious man ought to respect and cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connections with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in courts of justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure; reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.

'Tis substantially true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of free

government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.

As a very important source of strength and security cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible; avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it; avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthen which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should co-operate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be revenue; that to have revenue there must be taxes; that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant; that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.

Observe good faith and justice towards all nations, cultivate peace and harmony with all; religion and morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a people always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be, that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan, nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations, and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The nation which indulges towards another an habitual hatred, or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of umbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, envenomed and bloody contests. The nation, prompted by ill will and resentment, sometimes impels to war the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The government sometimes participates in the national pro-

pensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the liberty, of nations has been the victim.

So likewise, a passionate attachment of one nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favorite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification. It leads also to concessions to the favorite nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the nation making the concessions; by unnecessarily parting with what ought to have been retained; and by exciting jealousy, ill will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld. And it gives to ambitious, corrupted, or deluded citizens (who devote themselves to the favorite nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity; gilding with the appearances of a virtuous sense of obligation a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an

attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence (I conjure you to believe me, fellow citizens) the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake; since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican government. But that jealousy to be useful must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation, and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favorite, are liable to become suspected and odious, while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign nations, is in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence, therefore, it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties, in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one people,

under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality, we may at any time resolve upon, to be scrupulously respected; when belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation; when we may choose peace or war, as our interest, guided by justice, shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalry, interest, humor or caprice?

'Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it; for let me not be understood as capable of patronising infidelity to existing engagements. I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, that honesty is always the best policy. I repeat it, therefore, let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion, it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep yourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectable defense posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand; neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors

or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing, with powers so disposed, in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our merchants, and to enable the government to support them—conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit, but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character; that by such acceptance it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favors, and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favors from nation to nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression I could wish; that they will control the usual current of the passions, or prevent our nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of nations. But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit, some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism; this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to you and to the world. To myself, the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.

In relation to the still subsisting war in Europe, my Proclamation of the 22nd of April, 1793 is the index to my plan. Sanctioned by your approving voice and by that of your representatives in both Houses of Congress, the spirit of that measure has continually governed me, uninfluenced by any attempts to deter or divert me from it.

After deliberate examination with the aid of the best lights I could obtain, I was well satisfied that our country, under all the circumstances of the case, had a right to take, and was bound in duty and interest to take a neutral position. Having taken it, I determined(as far as should depend upon me, to maintain it, with moderation, perseverance and firmness.

The considerations which respect the right to hold this conduct, it is not necessary on this occasion to detail. I will only observe, that according to my understanding of the matter, that right, so far from being denied by any of the belligerent powers, has been virtually admitted by all.

The duty of holding a neutral conduct may be inferred, without anything more, from the obligation which justice and humanity impose on every nation, in cases in which it is free to act, to maintain inviolate the relations of peace and amity towards other nations.

The inducements of interest for observing that conduct will best be referred to your own reflections and ex-

perience. With me, a predominant motive has been to endeavor to gain time to our country to settle and mature its yet recent institutions, and to progress without interruption, to that degree of strength and consistency, which is necessary to give it, humanly speaking, the command of its own fortunes.

Though in reviewing the incidents of my administration, I am unconscious of intentional error, I am nevertheless too sensible of my defects not to think it probable that I may have committed many errors. Whatever they may be I fervently beseech the Almighty to avert or mitigate the evils to which they may tend. I shall also carry with me the hope that my country will never cease to view them with indulgence; and that after forty-five years of my life dedicated to its service, with an upright zeal, the faults of incompetent abilities will be consigned to oblivion, as myself must soon be to the mansions of rest.

Relying on its kindness in this as in other things, and actuated by that fervent love towards it, which is so natural to a man, who views in it the native soil of himself and his progenitors for several generations; I anticipate with pleasing expectation, that retreat, in which I promise myself to realize, without alloy, the sweet enjoyment of partaking, in the midst of my fellow citizens, the benign influence of good laws under a free government, the ever favorite object of my heart, and the happy reward, as I trust, of our mutual cares, labors and dangers

G. WASHINGTON.

United States, 14th September, 1796.



SEVENTH ANNUL MESSAGE

James Monroe

AT WASHINGTON

DECEMBER 2, 1823

It was stated at the commencement of the last session, that a great effort was then making in Spain and Portugal to improve the condition of the people of those countries, and that it appeared to be conducted with extraordinary moderation. It need scarcely be remarked, that the result has been, so far, very different from what was then anticipated. Of events in that quarter of the globe, with which we have so much intercourse, and from which we derive our origin, we have always been anxious and disinterested spectators. The citizens of the United States cherish sentiments the most friendly, in favor of the liberty and happiness of their fellowmen on that side of the Atlantic.

In the wars of the European powers, in matters relating to themselves, we have never taken any part, nor does it comport with our policy so to do. It is only when our rights are invaded, or seriously menaced that we resent injuries, or make preparation for our defence, with the movements in this hemisphere we are, of necessity, more immediately connected, and by causes which must be obvious to all enlightened and impartial observers. The political system of the allied powers is essentially different, in this respect, from that of America. This difference proceeds from that which exists in their respective governments. And to the defence of our own, which has been achieved by the loss of so much blood and treasure, and matured by the wisdom of their most enlightened citizens, and under which we have enjoyed unexampled felicity, this whole nation is devoted. We owe it, therefore, to candor and to the amicable relations existing between the United States and those powers, to declare that we should consider any attempt on their part to extend their system to any portion of this hemisphere,

as dangerous to our peace and safety. With the existing colonies or dependencies of any European power, we have not interfered and shall not interfere. But with the governments who have declared their independence, and maintained it, and whose independence we have, on great consideration, and on just principles, acknowledged, we could not view any interposition for the purpose of oppressing them, or controlling, in any other manner, their destiny, by any European power, in any other light than as the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition towards the United States.

JAMES MONROE.

GETTYSBURG SPEECH

Abraham Liucolm

NOVEMBER 19, 1863

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.

Now we are engaged in a great civil war, testing whether that nation, or any nation so conceived and so dedicated, can long endure. We are met on a great battlefield of that war. We have come to dedicate a portion of that field as a final resting place for those who here gave their lives that the nation might live. It is altogether fitting and proper that we should do this. But, in a larger sense, we cannot dedicate—we cannot consecrate—we cannot hallow—this ground. The brave men, living and dead, who struggled here have consecrated it, far above our poor power to add or detract. The world will little note, nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here. It is for us, the living, rather, to be dedicated here to the unfinished work which they who fought here have thus far so nobly advanced. It is rather for us to be here dedicated to the great task remaining before us, that from these honored dead we take increased devotion to that cause for which they gave the last full measure of devotion—that we here highly resolve that these dead shall not have died in vain—that this nation, under God, shall have a new birth of freedom and that government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the earth.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

WAR MESSAGE

President Wilson

In Congress

APRIL 2, 1917

The text of President Wilson's address to the special session of Congress follows:

I have called the Congress into extraordinary session because there are serious—very serious—choices of policy to be made—and made immediately—which was neither right nor constitutionally permissible that I should assume the responsibility of making.

On the third of February last I officially laid before you the extraordinary announcement of the imperial German government that on and after the first day of February it was its purpose to put aside all restraints of law or of humanity and use its submarines to sink every vessel that sought to approach either the ports of Great Britain and Ireland or the western coast of Europe or any of the ports controlled by the enemies of Germany within the Mediterranean. That has seemed to be the object of the German submarine warfare earlier in the war, but since April of last year the imperial government had somewhat restrained the commanders of its undersea craft in conformity with its promise then given to us that passenger boats should not be sunk, and that due warning would be given to all other vessels which its submarines might seek to destroy, when no resistance was offered or escape attempted, and care taken that their crews were given at least a fair chance to save their lives in their open boats. Their precautions taken were meager and haphazard enough, as was proved in distressing instance after instance in the progress of the cruel and unmanly business, but a certain degree of restraint was observed.

The new policy has swept every restriction aside. Vessels of every kind, whatever their flag, their character, their cargo, their destination, their errand, have been

ruthlessly sent to the bottom without warning, and without thought of help or mercy for those on board, the vessels of friendly neutrals along with belligerents. Even hospital ships and ships carrying relief to the sorely bereaved and stricken people of Belgium, though the latter were provided with safe conduct through the proscribed areas by the German government itself and were distinguished by unmistakable marks of identity, have been sunk with the same reckless lack of compassion or principle.

I was for a little while unable to believe that such things would in fact be done by any government that had hitherto subscribed to the humane practices of civilized nations. International law had its origin in the attempt to set up some law, which would be respected and observed upon the seas, where no nation had right of dominion and where lay the free highways of the world. By painful stage after stage has that law been built up with meager enough results indeed, after all was accomplished that could be accomplished, but always with a clear view, at least, of what the heart and conscience of mankind demanded.

This minimum of right the German government has swept aside under the plea of retaliation and necessity and because it had no weapons which it could use at sea except these, which it is impossible to employ as it is employing them without throwing to the winds all scruples of humanity or of respect for the understandings that were supposed to underlie the intercourse of the world.

I am not now thinking of the loss of property involved, immense and serious as that is, but only of the wanton and wholesale destruction of the lives of non-combatants,

men, women and children, engaged in pursuits which have always, even in the darkest periods of modern history, been deemed innocent and legitimate. Property can be paid for; the lives of peaceful and innocent people cannot be.

The present German submarine warfare against commerce is a warfare against mankind. It is a war against all nations. American ships have been sunk, American lives taken, in ways which it has stirred us very deeply to learn of, but the ships and people of other neutral and friendly nations have been sunk and overwhelmed in the waters in the same way. There has been no discrimination. The challenge is to all mankind. Each nation must decide for itself how it will meet it. The choice we make for ourselves must be made with a moderation of counsel and a temperateness of judgment befitting our character and our motives as a nation. We must put excited feeling away. Our motive will not be revenge or the victorious assertion of the physical might of the nation, but only the vindication of right, of human right, of which we are only a single champion.

When I addressed the Congress on the 26th of February last I thought that it would suffice to assert our neutral rights with arms, our right to use the seas against unlawful interference, our right to keep our people safe against unlawful violence.

But armed neutrality, it now appears, is impracticable. Because submarines are in effect outlaws when used as the German submarines have been used against merchant shipping, it is impossible to defend ships against their attacks, as the law of nations has assumed that merchantmen would defend themselves against privateers or cruisers, visible craft giving chase upon the open sea.

It is common prudence in such circumstances, grim necessity indeed, to endeavor to destroy them before they have shown their own intention. They must be dealt with upon sight, if dealt with at all.

The German government denies the right of neutrals to use arms at all within the areas of the sea which it has prescribed, even in the defense of rights which no modern publicist has ever before questioned their right to defend. The intimation is conveyed that the armed guards which we have placed on our merchant ships will be treated as beyond the pale of law and subject to be dealt with as pirates would be. Armed neutrality is ineffectual enough at best; in such circumstances and in the face of such pretensions it is worse than ineffectual; it is likely once to produce what it was meant to prevent; it is practically certain to draw us into the war without either the rights or the effectiveness of belligerents.

There is one choice we cannot make, we are incapable of making. We will not choose the path of submission and suffer the most sacred rights of our nation and our people to be ignored or violated. The wrongs against which we now array ourselves are not common wrong; they cut to the very roots of human life.

With a profound sense of the solemn and even tragical character of the step I am taking and of the grave responsibilities which it involves, but in unhesitating obedience to what I deem my constitutional duty, I advise that the Congress declare the recent course of the imperial German government to be in fact nothing less than war against the government and people of the United States; that it formally accept the status of belligerent, which has thus been thrust upon it, and that it take immediate steps not only to put the country in a more thorough state of de-

fense, but also to exert all its power and employ all its resources to bring the government of the German empire to terms and end the war.

What this will involve is clear. It will involve the utmost practicable co-operation in counsel and action with the governments now at war with Germany, and, as incident to that, the extension to those governments of the most liberal financial credits, in order that our resources may, as far as possible, be added to theirs. It will involve the organization and mobilization of all the material resources of the country to supply the materials of war and serve the incidental needs of the nation in the most abundant, and yet the most economical and efficient way possible. It will involve the immediate full equipment of the navy in all respects, but particularly in supplying it with the best means of dealing with the enemy's submarines. It will involve the immediate addition to the armed forces of the United States already provided for by law in case of war, at least 500,000 men who should, in my opinion, be chosen upon the principle of universal liability to service, and also the authorization of subsequent additional increments of equal force so soon as they may be needed and can be handled in training.

It will involve also, of course, the granting of adequate credits to the government, sustained, I hope, so far as they can equitably be sustained by the present generation by well conceived taxation. I say sustained so far as may be equitable by taxation, because it seems to me that it would be most unwise to base the credits which will now be necessary entirely on money borrowed. It is our duty, I most respectfully urge, to protect our people as far as we may against the very serious hardships and evils

which would be likely to arise out of the inflation which would be produced by vast loans.

In carrying out the measures by which these things are to be accomplished we should keep constantly in mind the wisdom of interfering as little as possible in our own preparation and in the equipment of our own military forces with the duty—for it will be a very practical duty—of supplying the nations already at war with Germany with the materials which they can obtain only from us or by our assistance. They are in the field and we should help them in every way to be effective there.

I shall take the liberty of suggesting through the several executive departments of the Government for the consideration of your committees, measures for the accomplishment of the several objects I have mentioned. I hope that it will be your pleasure to deal with them as having been framed after very careful thought by the branch of the Government upon which the responsibility of conducting the war and safeguarding the nation will most directly fall.

While we do these things, these deeply momentous things, let us be very clear and make very clear to all the world what our motives and what our objects are. My own thought has not been driven from its habitual and normal course by the unhappy events of the last two months, and I do not believe that the thought of the nation has been altered or clouded by them.

I have exactly the same things in mind now that I had in mind when I addressed the Senate on the 22d of January last; the same that I had in mind when I addressed the Congress on the 3d of February and on the 26th of February.

Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles

of peace and justice in the life of the world against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles.

Neutrality is no longer feasible or desirable where the peace of the world is involved and the freedom of its peoples, and the menace to that peace and freedom lies in the existence of autocratic governments backed by organized force which is controlled wholly by their will, not by the will of their people. We have seen the last of neutrality in such circumstances.

We are at the beginning of an age in which it will be insisted that the same standards of conduct and of responsibility for wrong done shall be observed among nations and their governments that are observed among the individual citizens of civilized states.

We have no quarrel with the German people. We have no feeling toward them but one of sympathy and friendship. It was not upon their impulse that their Government acted in entering this war. It was not with their previous knowledge or approval.

It was a war determined upon as wars used to be determined upon in the old, unhappy days when peoples were nowhere consulted by their rulers and wars were provoked and waged in the interest of dynasties or of little groups of ambitious men, who were accustomed to use their fellowmen as pawns and tools.

Self-governed nations do not fill their neighbor states with spies, or set the course of intrigue to bring about some critical posture of affairs which will give them an opportunity to strike and make conquest. Such designs can be successfully worked only under cover and where

no one has the right to ask questions.

Cunningly contrived plans of deception or aggression, carried, it may be, from generation to generation, can be worked out and kept from the light only within the privacy of courts or behind the carefully guarded confidences of a narrow and privileged class. They are happily impossible where public opinion commands and insists upon full information concerning all the nation's affairs.

A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep faith within it or conserve its covenants. It must be a league of honor, a partnership of opinion.

Intrigue would eat its vitals away; the plottings of inner circles who could plan what they would and render account to no one would be a corruption seated at its very heart. Only free peoples can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of their own.

Does not every American feel that assurance has been added to our hope for the future peace of the world by the wonderful and heartening things that have been happening within the last few weeks in Russia?

Russia was known by those who knew it best to have been always in fact democratic at heart, in all the vital habits of her thought, in all the intimate relationships of her people that spoke their natural instinct, their habitual attitude toward life.

The autocracy that crowned the summit of her political structure, long as it has stood and terrible as was the reality of its power, was not in fact of Russian origin, character or purpose; and now it has been shaken off and

the great, generous Russian people have been added in all their native majesty and might to the forces that are fighting for freedom in the world, for justice and for peace. Here is a fit partner for a league of honor.

One of the things that has served to convince us that the Prussian autocracy was no and could never be our friend is that from the very outset of the present war it has filled our unsuspecting communities and even our offices of government with spies and set criminal intrigues everywhere afoot against our national unity and council, our peace within and without our industries and our commerce.

Indeed, it is now evident that its spies were here even before the war began, and it unhappily is not a matter of conjecture, but a fact proved in our courts of justice, that the intrigues which have more than once come perilously near to disturbing the peace and dislocating the industries of the country have been carried on at the instigation, with the support, and even under the personal direction of official agents of the Imperial German Government accredited to the Government of the United States.

Even in checking these things and trying to extirpate them we have sought to put the most generous interpretations possible upon them because we knew that their source lay, not in any hostile feeling or purpose of the German people toward us (who were, no doubt, as ignorant of them as we ourselves were), but only in the selfish designs of a government that did what it pleased and told its people nothing. But they have played their part in serving to convince us at last that that government entertains no real friendship for us and means to act against our peace and security at its convenience.

That it means to stir up enemies against us at our very doors, the intercepted note to the German Minister at Mexico City is eloquent evidence.

We are accepting this challenge of hostile purpose because we know that in such a government, following such methods, we can never have a friend; and that in the presence of its organized power, always lying in wait to accomplish we know not what purpose, there can be no assured security for the democratic governments of the world.

We are now about to accept the gage of battle with this natural foe to liberty, and shall, if necessary, spend the whole force of the nation to check and nullify its pretensions and its power. We are glad now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German peoples included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the trusted foundation of political liberty.

We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been as secure as the faith and the freedom of the nations can make them.

Just because we fight without rancor, animus, not in enmity toward a people nor with the desire to bring any injury or disadvantage upon them, but only in armed opposition to an irresponsible government which has

thrown aside all considerations of humanity and of right and is running amuck.

We are, let me say again, the sincere friend of the German people and shall desire nothing so much as the early re-establishment of intimate relations of mutual advantage between us—however hard it may be for them, for the time being, to believe that this is spoken from our hearts. We have borne with their present government through all these bitter months because of that friendship—exercising a patience and forbearance which would otherwise have been impossible. We shall, happily, still have an opportunity to prove that friendship in our daily attitude and action toward the millions of men and women of German birth and native sympathy who live amongst us and share our life, and we shall be proud to prove it toward all who are in fact loyal to their neighbors and to this government in the hour of test. They are, most of them, as true and loyal Americans as if they had never known any other fealty or allegiance.

They will be prompt to stand with us in rebuking and restraining the few who may be of a different mind and purpose.

If there should be disloyalty, it will be dealt with with a firm hand of stern repression; but, if it lifts its head at all, it will lift it only here and there and without countenance except from a lawless and malignant few.

It is a distressful and oppressive duty, gentlemen of the Congress, which I have performed in thus addressing you. There are, it may be, many months of fiery trial and sacrifice ahead of us. It is a fearful thing to lead this great peaceful country into war, into the most terrible and disastrous of all wars, civilization itself seeming to be in the balance. But the right is more precious than

peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations, and make the world itself at last free.

To such a task we can dedicate our lives and our fortunes, everything that we are and everything that we have with the pride of those who know that the day has come when America is privileged to spend her blood and her might for the principles that gave her birth and happiness and the peace which she has treasured. God helping her, she can do no other.

APPENDIX

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I

SECTION 1. All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION 2. 1 The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislature.

2 No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

3 Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons. The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subse-

quent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.

4 When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

5 The House of Representatives shall choose their speaker and other officers, and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION 3. 1 The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the legislature thereof for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

2 Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into 3 classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year, of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year, and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until

the next meeting of the legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

3 No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

4 The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

5 The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

6 The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the chief justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two thirds of the members present.

7 Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment and punishment, according to law.

SECTION 4. 1 The times, places, and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter

such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

2 The Congress shall assemble at least once in every year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION 5. 1 Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

2 Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two thirds, expel a member.

3 Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

4 Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION 6. 1 The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony and breach

of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

2 No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION 7. 1 All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills.

2 Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nays, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill

shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

3 Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION 8. 1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defense and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

2 To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

3 To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

4 To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

5 To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and meas-

ures;

6 To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

7 To establish post offices and post roads;

8 To promote the progress of science and useful arts by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

9 To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

10 To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offenses against the law of nations;

11 To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

12 To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

13 To provide and maintain a navy;

14 To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

15 To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

16 To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia accord-

ing to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

17 To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dockyards, and other needful buildings; and

18 To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION 9. 1 The migration or importation of such persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to, the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

2 The privilege of the writ of *habeas corpus* shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

3 No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

4 No capitation, or other direct, tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

5 No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported

from any State.

6 No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another: nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

7 No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

8 No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION 10. 1. No state shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

2 No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any imposts or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws: and the net produce of all duties and imposts laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

3 No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II

SECTION 1. 1 The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows

2 Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for two persons, of whom one at least shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a list of all the persons voted for, and of the number of votes for each; which list they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate. The president of the Senate, shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted. The person having the greatest number of

votes shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such majority, and have an equal number of votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately choose by ballot one of them for President; and if no person have a majority, then from the five highest on the list the said house shall in like manner choose the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. In every case, after the choice of the President, the person having the greatest number of votes of the electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal votes, the Senate shall choose from them by ballot the Vice President.

3 The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

4 No person except a natural born citizen, or a citizen of the United States, at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

5 In case of the removal of the President from office,

or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

6 The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

7 Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION 2. 1 The President shall be commander in chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices, and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offenses against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

2 He shall have power, by and with the advice and

consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

3 The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION 3. He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION 4. The President, Vice President, and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.

SECTION 1. The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION 2. 1. The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls; — to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction; — to controversies to which the United States shall be a party; — to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;—between citizens of different states,—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign States, citizens or subjects.

2 In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

3 The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION 3. 1 Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

2 The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason, but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV

SECTION 1. Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State. And the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION 2. 1 The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

2 A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

3 No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION 3. 1 New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

2 The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION 4. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government, and shall protect each of them against invasion; and on application of the legislature, or of the executive (when the legislature cannot be convened) against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V

The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a con-

vention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; Provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI

1 All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

2 This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

3 The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States, and of the several States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII

The ratification of the convention of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in Convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth. In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names,

Go: WASHINGTON—

Presidt. and Deputy from Virginia

New Hampshire—John Langdon; Nicholas Gilman.

Massachusetts—Nathaniel Gorham; Rufus King.

Connecticut—Wm. Saml. Johnson; Roger Sherman.

New York—Alexander Hamilton.

New Jersey—Wil: Livingston; David Brearley; Wm. Paterson; Jona: Dayton.

Pennsylvania—B. Franklin; Thomas Mifflin; Robt. Morris; Geo. Clymer; Thos. Fitzsimons; Jared Ingersoll; James Wilson; Gouv Morris.

Delaware—Geo: Read; Gunning Bedford Jun; John Dickinson; Richard Bassett; Jaco: Broom.

Maryland—James McHenry; Dan of St. Thos. Jenifer; Danl. Carroll.

Virginia—John Blair—; James Madison Jr.

North Carolina—Wm. Blount; Richd. Dobbs Spaight; Hu Williamson.

South Carolina—J. Rutledge; Charles Cotesworth

Pinckney; Charles Pinckney; Pierce Butler.

Georgia—William Few; Abr Baldwin.

Attest WILLIAM JACKSON, Secretary.

Articles in addition to, and amendment of, the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress, and ratified by the legislatures of the several States pursuant to the fifth article of the original Constitution.

ARTICLE I

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II

A well regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III

No soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offense to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defense.

ARTICLE VII

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines

imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted

ARTICLE IX

The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI

The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign State.

ARTICLE XII

The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballot the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate;—The president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted;

—The person having the greatest number of votes for President shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servi-

tude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislatur thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such

State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two thirds of each House, remove such disability.

Section 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XVI

The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes on incomes from whatever source derived, without apportionment among the several States, and without regard to any census or enumeration.

ARTICLE XVII

The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for the elector of the most numerous branch of the state legislatures.

When vacancies happen in the representation of any State in the Senate, the executive authority of such State shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

Provided, that the legislature of any State may empower the executive thereof to make temporary appointments until the people fill the vacancies by election, as the legislature may direct.

This amendment shall not be so construed as to affect the election or term of any Senator chosen before it becomes valid as part of the Constitution.

THE SUNANP AND THE STARS

(An International Song)

PHILIP HENRY DODGE

Tune: Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean

The sun and the stars in the heavens
United in radiance shine;
Their light like a mantle of glory
Descends as a blessing divine.
Let the nations whose banners are waving
The sign of the stars and the sun,
Give light to the earth and its people,
United in purpose as one.

Hurrah for the sun and the stars!
Banzai for the stars and the sun!
Inscribed on the skies it is written,
The Heart of the nations is one.

Though clouds in their darkness may gather,
And ages in turn pass away,
Unaltered as laws of creation,
The lights of the firmament stay.
Let the nations whose banners are waving
These emblems of beauty and light,
Stand firm for protection united,
As follow the day and the night.

Hurrah for the sun and the stars!
Banzai for the stars and the sun!
Deep down in all hearts it is written,
The Life of the nations is one.

Though language and customs may differ,
Though kingdoms their courses have run,
Though races and peoples have altered,
O'er all shine the stars and the sun.
Let the nations whose banners are waving
The symbols that never shall cease,
Insure for the earth and its people
The blessings of safety and peace.

Hurrah for the sun and the stars!

Banzai for the stars and the sun!

Enshrined in all life it is written,

The God of the nations is one.

Philip Henry Dodge.

大正六年八月一日第一版發行

〔非賣品〕

米領布哇縣ホノルル市

本派本願寺

文書部

編

修

室

第十六章

議會は必要の場合には歳入を圖る爲めに各州の統計並に行政區劃の分布を較量せずして各州全体に課税を爲すの權限を享有す可く其方法は如何なる財源に出づるも差支なきものとす。

第十七章

合衆國の上院は一州につき貳名宛の割合にて各州より選舉せられたる議員に依りて之を組織し議員の任期は六ケ年にして各自壹票の投票權を有す。

選舉人は各州の議員に於て定むる處の選舉資格を備ふるものなるを要す若上院議員に欠員を生じたる場合には各州の行政官廳は之が補欠選舉施行の布告を發す可し。

何れの州に於ても議會は州行政官廳に向つて補欠選舉の終了に至る迄臨時の期間議會と同様なる任命權を附與すべし。

但し此修正は憲法の一部として効力を有するに至る以前に選舉せられたる上院議員の選舉並に任期に關しては何等の變化を及ぼすものにあらず。

逆に加入し若くは敵に助力及便宜を與へたる者は兩院議員、大統領の撰舉人又は合衆國の文武官に任用することを得ず但し各院は各院の三分の二以上の投票を以て此制限を除去することを得。

四、合衆國が法律に依り起したる一般の負債并に一揆及内亂を鎮定する爲に功勞ありたる者に對し年金並に賞與を與ふる爲に起したる負債は有効のものとす合衆國亦是州は合衆國に對する一揆亦是叛逆を助成するために起した負債其他の義務若くは奴隸の開放に依て生じたる損害に對する賠償の請求を引受け亦是之を支拂ふ義務なし。

右の負債、義務及請求は不法且無効のものと看做す。

五、國會は適當なる法律に依りて本章の規定を強行する權を有す。

第十五章

一、合衆國市民の選舉權は人種、色澤、又は人的役務（奴隸）に服したるの故を以て合衆國又は州より否認又は制限を受くることなし

二、國會は適當なる立法に依り本章規定を強行するの權を有す。

第十四章

一、合衆國に於て出生し又は歸化に依りて其法權に服する者は合衆國并に其住居する州の市民とす。

州は合衆國市民の特權又は特典を制限する法律を設け又は之を強行することを得ず又法律の手續に依らずして人民の生命自由又は財産を奪ひ若くは其法權の下に在る人に對して均等なる法律の保護を拒むことを得ず。

二、下院議員の數は各州に在る人民の數に比例して之を分配す但し租税を賦課せざる印度人を省く年齢二十一歳に達したる男子にして合衆國市民が大統領及び副大統領の撰舉人、下院議員、州行政官并に司法官又は州會議員を撰舉する權利の否認せられ若くは叛逆又は其他の犯罪以外の原因に由りて之を制限せられたる時は代表の基本は權利の否認又は制限を受けたる市民が其州に在る二十一歳以上の男子の市民の總數に對する割合に應じて減少するものとす。

三、國會議員、合衆國の官吏、又は州會議員若くは州の行政官其他司法官として合衆國の憲法を守るべきことを宣誓したる者にして合衆國に對する一揆又は叛

選投票を行ふ但し此場合に於ける投票は各州の代表者を以てし其票數は各州一票宛として其定員數は各州代表者の三分の二以上に達し且つ其數の過半數を得ることを要す。

下院が大統領を選舉する義務ある場合に之を選舉せざる時は副大統領は大務領の死亡は故障の場合に於けると同じく翌年三月第四日まで大統領として其職務を行ふ。

副大統領として最多數の投票を得たる者にして其票數が選舉人總數の過半數に達したるときは副大統領に當選す若し選舉人總數の過半數の投票を得たる者無き時は上院は最高點者二名の中より副大統領を選舉す但し此場合の定員數は上院議員總數の三分の二とす何人も憲法上大統領に選任さるゝ資格なき者は副大統領となるを得ず。

第十三章

一、奴隸又は任意に出でざる役務は合衆國內又は其法權の下に在る土地に存在するを得ず但し犯罪の結果處罰として勞役に服する者は此限にあらず。

二、國會は適當なる立法を以て本章を強行する權を有す。

するものと解釋するを得ず。

第十章

憲法を以て合衆國に委任せず又は各州に禁止せざる權利は州又は人民に保留す。

第十一章

合衆國の司法權は法律又は衡平法に従て他州の市民若くは外國の臣民が合衆國の一州に對して提起した起訴に及ぼす。

第十二章

選舉人は其所屬する州に集會して投票を以て大統領及副大統領を選舉すべし但し其一人は選舉人と同一の州に屬せざるを要す。

撰舉人は投票用紙に大統領及副大統領たるべき人の姓名を認め且つ大統領たるべき人が得たる各自の點數名簿を作製し署名證明及封緘を施し之を上院議長に宛て首府に送達すべし。

上院議長は両院議員の面前に於て證明書を開封し投票數を計算す其大統領として最多數の得點を有し及選舉人總數の過半數以上に達したる者は大統領に當選す若し選舉人の過半數に達する投票を得たる者なき時は下院は最高點者三人に付き決

第六章

刑事裁判に於て被告は律にて法依先づ犯罪行為地と確定せられたる州及地方の公正なる陪審官より迅速且つ公の審問を受ける義務を有し及其公訴の性質并に原因に付て説明を求むるの權利を有す。

右の場合に被告は自己の利益の爲めに證人出廷を請求し及自己を辯護せしむる爲辯護士の助力を求むることを得。

第七章

通法に關する訴訟にして其爭點が二十弗以上の價格在るときには陪審官に依て審問を受けるの權利を保留さる且つ陪審官より審問を受けたる事實は通法の規定に依らずして再び合衆國の如何なる裁判所に於ても審問を受けることなし。

第八章

過當なる保釋金を命じ又は罰金を賦課することを得ず又過酷異常なる處罰を爲すことを得ず。

第九章

此憲法に列記したる或權利は之を以て人民が保有したる他の權利を排除し又減滅

平時に於て家主の承諾を経ずして兵士を其家に宿泊せしむることを得ず、其の戦時に於ても法律の規定する以外の方法を以て之を宿泊せしむることを得ず。

第四章

不法搜索及不法押収に對し身體住居書類財産等を安全に保持する權利は之を侵害することを得ず。

宣誓又は誓言に依り正當の理由を檢し特に搜索せらるべき場合及押収せらるべき人又は物を記載するにあらざれば逮捕狀を發することを得ず。

第五章

何人も大法官(Grand Jury)の意見書又は公訴狀に依るの外死刑其他破廉耻に關する犯罪の訴訟を受くることなし但し戦時又は時變に際し陸海常備軍若くは民兵に屬し現に兵役に服する場合は此限にあらず。

何人も同一の犯罪に對して再處罰を受くることなく又刑事裁判に於て自己に對し不利益なる證人の地位に立つことなし。

何人も正當なる法律手續に依らずして其生命自由又は財産を奪はるゝことなく又相當の賠償を受けずして私有財産を公用の爲に徵收せらるゝことなし。

宗教上の區別を以て合衆國の官吏又は公設の委員となる資格を制限することを
得ず。

第七章 憲法承認の効力

九個州以上の聯合會議の承認あるときは此法に承認を與へたる州の間に於て憲法
制定の効力ある者と認む

修正憲法

第一章

國會は宗教を創設し其自由禮拜を禁止し若くは言論又は印行の自由を制限する法
律を制定することを得ず、國會は平和に集會し及災害救助の請願をなす人民の權
利を制限する法律を制定することを得ず。

第二章

組織整頓したる民兵は州の安全を保つに必要なるを以て人民の武器を貯へ及之を
所持する權利を侵害することを得ず。

第三章

聯合州議會の三分の二以上又は聯合會議の二三分の以上が憲法變更の必要を承認したるときは其承認は國會自ら之を承認したるものと同じく此憲法の一部として此憲法變更の主意及び目的に對し有効なものとす、但し一千九百八年以前に於て爲さるべき修正は如何なる方法を以てするも憲法第一章第九條の第一項及び第二項を變更することを得ず。

各州は其承認に依らずして上院に於ける均等投票の利益を奪はるゝことなし。

第六章 國法及條約と州法

一、此憲法制定前に起したる負債及契約は國家聯合(Confederation)の下に於けると同じく此憲法に依つて合衆國に對して有効のものとする。

二、此憲法及合衆國が制定したる法律并に合衆國の權利に依り締結せらるべき一切の條約は國の最高法律と爲り各州の裁判官は州の憲法又は其法律に依て反對の規定あるに拘らず之を拘束さる。

三、兩院議員、各州會議員、合衆國及各州の行政官并に司法官は宣誓又は誓約に依りて憲法を保守する義務を有す。

勞働を要求する權ある州に之を引渡すべし。

第三條 一、新立の州は國會の承認に依りて聯合に加入す、但し新立の州は他州の法權の下に之を創立することを得ず。

州は其關係する州の議會并に國會の承認を経ずして二個以上の州の間又は州の一部との間に聯合を形成することを得ず。

二、國會は合衆國の直轄地又は合衆國に所屬する財産に關し必要なる規則及び條例を設くることを得、此憲法の規定は合衆國又は特定の州の權利に關し不利益なる解釋を爲すことを許さず。

第四條 合衆國は聯合に加入したる州に對し共和制政体を保障し各州に對する外敵を防ぎ州議會又は州行政官《議會を召集する能はざる場合》の請願に依り其内亂に對し之を保護す。

第五章 憲法の修正

國會は兩院の三分の二以上が必要と認むる時は憲法修正案を提出することを得、又聯合各州議會の數の三分の二以上が憲法修正を請求したるときは憲法修正の爲めに聯合會議を召集することを得。

之を自白したる場合の外叛逆の罪に問はるゝことなし。

二、國會は叛逆の罪に對して處罰を宣告する權を要す、但し私權剝奪又は財産沒收の處罰は犯人の生前に限る。

第四章 州 權

第一條 各州は他州の公の行爲、記録及訴訟手續に關し完全なる信用及信任を與ふることを要す。

國會は法律を以て此等の行爲記録及訴訟手續并に其効果等を證明すべき方法を規定することを要す。

第二條 一、各州の市民は他の州に於て一切の特權及特典を受くるものとす。

二、一州に於て叛逆、重罪又は其の他の罪に問はれたる者にして逃走して他州に入りたるときは其は其州犯罪行爲地の州の行政官の請求に依り其犯人を逮捕して裁判管轄地の州に之を引渡すべし。

三、一州の法律に依りて勤務又は勞働に服すべき者にして他州に逃走したる場合、其州の法律によりて勤務又は勞働を免除さるゝときと雖其州は勤務又は

司法權は大使、公使及領事に關する一切の事件、海軍軍法會議及び海事裁判に關する一切の事件、合衆國が當事者の一方として紛糾に關係せる事件、二州以上に生じたる紛糾、州と他州の市民との間に生じたる紛糾、異りたる州民間に生じたる紛糾、他より下附されたる土地に關し同一州民及び外國又は外國の臣民若くは人民との間に生じたる紛糾に及ぶ。

二、大使、公使、領事等に關する一切の事件に關し州が當事者たる訴訟は先づ大審院之を受理審議し其他の事件にして前記數多の事項に關する訴訟に付ては其法規並に事實に關し大審院之が控訴管轄權を有す、但し其管轄事項に關する除外例并に其制限は國會之を定む。

三、彈劾の場合を除くの外犯罪の審問は陪審官制度に依り其審問は犯罪行爲地の州に於て之を開始す但し其犯罪が州に於て行はざりし時は國會は法律を以て審問の場所を定む。

第三條 一、合衆國に對する叛逆の罪は國家に對し戰爭を開始し若くは敵に助力又は便宜を與ふることに依りて成立す。

何人の二人以上の證人に依て其叛逆の行爲を證明せらるゝか又は法廷に於て

る法案を建議することを得臨時緊急の場合に於て大統領は兩院又は一院を召集することを得。兩院 間に休會に關し意見を異にする時は大統領は其適當と認むる時まで兩院に休會を命ずることを得。

大統領、大使及公使を承認し及び法律の執行を監視し合衆國一切の官吏を任命することを得（臨時緊急の場合）

第四條 大統領、副大統領及び一切の行政官は彈劾に依り及び反逆收賄其他重罪及び輕罪の追訴に依り其職務を免除さる。

第三章 司法權

第一條 合衆國の司法權は大審院之を管掌し國會は時々下級裁判所を設けることを得。

大審院及下級裁判所の判事は過失惡行に依るの外其職を免せらるゝことなく其職務に對しての俸給を受け且つ就職中俸給を減せらるゝことなし。

第二條 一、司法權は此憲法に依りて生ずる法律及び衡平法、合衆國法律、合衆國の權力に依りて締結せられ又は締結せられたる法律に及ぶ。

余は嚴肅に余は誠實に合衆國の大統領たる職務を執行し余の能力を盡して合衆國の憲法を守護すべきことを宣誓（又は誓言）す。

第二條 一、大統領は合衆國陸海軍の統帥にして其諸州の民兵が召集せられたる

時は其總指揮官となる、大統領は書面を以て行政部の長官より其管掌事務に關する意見を徵收し及び其彈劾の場合を除くの外合衆國に對する犯罪の處罰を免除し若くは其刑罰の執行猶豫を許下する權を有す。

二、大統領は上院の建議及び承諾を以て條約を締結するを得但し上院の建議及承諾は出席員の三分の二以上の決議を経ることを要す。

大統領は上院の建議及承諾を以て大使公使領事大審院の判事を任命し及其他其任命に關し特別の規定を設けざるも法律を以て規定することを要する官吏を任命することを得但し國會は法律を以て大統領自ら又は裁判所若くは行政長官が自ら任命するを適當と認むる下級官吏の任命權を委任することを得。

三、大統領は上院の閉會中辭令書を與へて官吏の缺員を補充することを得但し官吏は次の會期に至り其職を失ふ。

第三條 大統領は國會に對し時々國政の狀況を報告し及其必要并に便宜と認めた

四、國會は大統領選舉の日時を定む、但し其日時は全國同一とす。

五、出生に因て合衆國の市民となり若くは此憲法制定の當時現に合衆國の市民たるもの、外大統領に選任することを得ず。

年齢三十五歳以上に達し且つ十四ヶ年以上合衆國に住居せざる者は大統領に選任することを得ず。

六、大統領其職を去り死亡し任意に辭職し又は其職權職務を執行すること能はざるに至りたるときは副大統領之に代て大統領に選任す。

國會は大統領副大統領が退職、死亡又は辭職したる場合若くは故障の爲めに其職を執行すること能はざるに至りたる場合に於て如何なる官吏が大統領として行政を行ひ及び其官吏が大統領の故障止む時まで其行政を行ふか若くは新に大統領を選舉する時まで行政を行ふかに付て必要な規定を設くることを得。

七、大統領は任期間一定の俸給を受け其額は任期間増減することを得ず且つ大統領は其任期中合衆國若くは州より其俸給以外の報酬を受くることを得ず。

八、大統領は其職務を執行するに先だち左の宣誓又は誓言を爲すことを要す。

三、選舉人は各所屬の州に集會し二人に對して投票を爲す、但し一人は選舉人の所屬する州の住民にあらざることを要す。

選舉人は投票せられたる人の名簿を作製し之に署名し證明及封緘を施し上院議長に宛て合衆國の首府に送達すべし。

上院議長は上下兩院議員の面前に於て證明書を開封し投票を計算す。

選舉人總數の過半数に達し最大多數の投票を得たる人は大統領に當選す若し他に選舉人の過半数に達し同一の投票を得たるものある時は下院は直に投票を行ひ其一人を大統領に選舉す。

選舉人總數の過半数を得たるもの一人も之無き時は下院は其最高點を得たる者五人に付き投票を以て其一人を選舉す、但し此の場合に於ける投票は各州の代表者を以てし其票數は各州一票宛とし其定足數は各州の代表者の三分の二に達し且つ州數の過半数を得ることを要す。

何れの場合に於ても大統領撰舉の後選舉人より最多數の投票を得たる者と副大統領に任ず、但し二人以上同一の投票を得たるときは上院は投票を以て一人を選舉す。

二、各州は國會の承諾を得ずして海關監視法を執行する爲に必要なものゝ外輸入品又は輸出品に租税を賦課することを得ず其の各國が輸出入品に賦課したる租税徴收入は國庫の用途に充當す國庫は海關監視等に關する法律を制定し之を制限する權を有す。

三、各州は國會の承諾を経ずして噸税を賦課し平時に於て軍隊又は軍艦を貯へ他州又は外國と條約を結び其他外戰又は危險切迫して遲滯を許さざる場合の外戰爭に従事することを得ず。

第二章 行政權

第一條、一、國の行政權は大統領之を掌る。大統領は副大統領と共に其任期四年にして左の方法に依て選舉せらる。

二、各州は議會の規定する方法に従ひ各州より選出する上下兩院議員と同數の選舉人を選出す、但し兩院議員又は合衆國政府の下に奉職する者は選舉人となることを得ず。

ば之を賦課徴收することを得ず。

五、一州より他州に輸入したる物品には課税せず。

六、一州の港津は通商又は歳入の規定に依り他州の港津と異なる計算を受くることなし又一州の港津を出でたる船舶は他州の港津に入りて關税を賦課徴收せらるゝことなし。

七、法律の規定に依るにあらざれば國庫より金錢を受納することを得ず國庫金に關する收入の計算は時々之を公表す。

八、合衆國は貴族の稱號を認可せず其合衆國政府の下に奉職する者は國會の承諾を得るにあらざれば外國の君主、主宰者又は外國より何等の贈與、報酬、官職又は稱號を受くることを得ず。

第十條 一、各州は外國と條約を締結し同盟を爲し聯合を結ぶことを得ず又海上捕獲狀及報復狀を下附し貨幣を鑄造し信用證券を發行し負債を償却する爲に金銀貨幣以外の貨幣を法貨とし私權剝奪法又は遡及法律其他契約上の義務を免減する法律を制定し若くは人民に貴族の稱號を與ふることを得ず。

十五、合衆國の法律を執行し内亂を鎮定し及外寇を防ぐ爲に民兵召集に關する規定を設くること

十六、民兵を組織し武裝し及之を訓練する爲に必要な規定を設け合衆國の爲に勤務する民兵を統御し并に民兵の士官を任命する權及國會の規定したる方法に従て民兵を訓練する權を各州に留保する爲必要な規定を設くること

十七、國會の承諾及特定の州の讓與に依て合衆國政府の直轄地となりたる地方(十平方哩を超過せず)に於て絶對に立法權を行使し及城砦武庫造兵廠乾燥船渠其他必要な建築物を設くる爲に州議會の承諾を経て買收したる地方に同一の權を行使すること

十八、前項諸種の權利及憲法に依り合衆國政府各省又は各省の官吏に委任せられたる權利を行使するに必要な法律を設くること

第九條

一、現存する各州が適當と認めたる外國人の入國に付ては一千八百八年以前に限り國會は其入國を禁止することを得ず但し國會は一人に付十弗以内の入國税を課することを得。

二、人身保護に關する特權は内亂、外戰に際し公安維持の必要上止むを得ざる場合の外之を停止することを得ず。

三、私權剝奪法案又は遡及法律案は之を通過することを得ず。

四、人頭税其他直接税は從來の規定に依り人口又は計算に比例するにあらざれ

下したる時は兩院法律案の決議に必要な規定及制限に従て兩院議員の三分の二の決議を以て之を通過することを得。

第八條 國家は左の權限を有す

一、租税、手數料、海關稅及消毒稅等を賦課徵收し國債を償却し國防並に國の利益を増進する爲に必要なる設置をなすこと但し前記の公課は國內を通じて劃一とす

二、合衆國の信用を以て國債を起すこと

三、外國との通商并に國內の諸州及び印度種族との間に於ける通商を制限すること

四、歸化に關する劃一の制限を設け破産に關し國內を通じて劃一の規定を設くること

五、貨幣を鑄造し内外貨幣の價格を整理し貨幣の重量并に其價格の尺度を一定すること

六、公債證書及び通貨の偽造に對する罰則を定むること

七、郵便局及郵便道路を設くること

八、學術其他有用なる技術の進歩を助成する爲に一定の期間著作物及び發明品を專用する權利を與ふること

九、大審院の下に下級の裁判所を設置すること

十、公海に於て行はるる海賊及重罪行爲及國法に反する行爲の區劃を一定して之を處罰すること

十一、戰を宣し海上捕獲免狀及報復免狀を下附し陸上并に海上の捕獲に關する規定を設くること

十二、陸軍を設け及之を維持すること但し之が爲に要する資金は二年以上流用するを得ず

十三、海軍を設け之を維持すること

十四、陸軍及海軍の軍政に關し必要なる規定を設くること

裁可したる時はその議案を發案に署名し裁可せざる時は之に反對の旨を附記して其議案を發案したる議院に廻付す此場合に其議院は議事録に却下の旨を記入し再び同一案に付て議事を開くものとす。

議院が再録の後三分の二以上の決議を以て之を決し大統領の不裁可の旨を附記して他院に提出したる時は其議案の提出を受けたる議院は同一方法を以て之を議事に附し三分の二以上の決議を以て之を通過したるときは法律となる右の場合に於ては兩院の意思は議員の賛否の發言に依て之を決しその議員の氏名を各院の議事録に記入す。

三、議院を通過したる議案が大統領に提出せられたる日より十日以内（日曜日
は之を除く）に大統領より廻附を受けざるときはその議案は大統領が自ら裁可し署名したると同一に法律となる但し兩院が休會中にして大統領より議案の廻附を受くる能はざる場合は此限にあらず。

休會の場合を除くの外、命令決議又は投票に關し兩院の協議を必要とするときは之を大統領に提出してその裁斷を乞ふべし若し大統領がその提出案を却

純なる諾否の發言と雖も之を記録するを要す。

四、國會の開會中一院は他の承諾を得ずして三日以上休會し若くは兩院の會場以外の場所に於て開會することを得ず。

第六條 一、兩院議員は法律を以て定めたる金額に依りて國庫よりその勤務に對する報酬を受く。

兩院議員は叛逆重罪並に公安を害する犯罪を除くの外は開會中院の内外に於て逮捕せらるゝことなく及びその院内に於て爲したる發言表決に對して院内に於て審問を受くることなし。

二、兩院議員はその任期中合衆國の制定したる行政官に任用し若くはその任期中合衆國より何等の利益（歳出以外の）を受くることを得ず。

合衆國政府の官職を擔任する者は兩院何れの議員ともなることを得ず。

第七條 一、歳入増加に關する議案は下院先づ之を議決す但し上院は其議案を提出又は修正するとを得。

二、兩院を通過したる議案は之を法律と爲す以前に大統領に提出し大統領之を

決及處罰せらるゝものとす。

第四條 一、上院議員及下院議員を選挙する日時、場所及び方法等は各州議會各

自之を定む但し國會は上院議員選舉の場所以外の事項に付ては任意に法律を以て制限を設け又は議會の規定を變更することを得。

二、國會は毎年少くとも一回之を召集するものとし其開會は法律を以て特別の期日を指定せざる時は十二月第一月曜日に之を行ふ。

第五條 一、各院は議員の選舉解任及びその資格等を審査制定する權を有す。

各院が議事を爲す定員數は員數の過半數以上とす但し定員數を得ざる時は少數議員は日々休會を爲し議員法を以て定めたる方法并に罰則に依り欠席議員の出席を強制することを得。

二、各院はその議事に關する規則を定め院内の秩序を紊したる議員を處罰し及び議員三分の二以上の決議を以て議員を除名することを得。

三、各院は議事録を調製しその秘密を要するものゝ外は時々之を公表すべし。如何なる議事にも出席員五分の一の請求ある時は議員の爲したる表決は單

を選出することを得。

三、年齢満三十歳以上にして九ヶ年以上合衆國市民となり且つ選舉の當時其選出されたる州の住民にあらざる者は上院議員となることを得ず。

四、副大統領は上院議長之に任じ議事に關し可否同數なる場合の外投票權を有せず。

五、上院は上院に屬する各役員を選舉し副大統領欠けたるとき又は副大統領が代て大統領の職務を執行する場合は臨時の議長を選舉することを得。

六、上院は官吏彈劾に對し専ら之を裁決する權を有す。但し大統領が彈劾せられたる時は大審院長議事を統括す。

何人も出席議員の三分の二以上の投票に依るにあらざれば懲罰の判定を受くることなし。

七、官吏彈劾の裁判に於ては失職以上の判決を爲すことを得ず且つ其處罰は合衆國に於て名譽、信用又は利益ある官職を擔任するの資格を奪ふに止まる但し彈劾を提起せられたる官吏は此裁判の外別に法律の規定に依り公訴審問判

ロオドアイランド州及びブロヴァインデンス植民地は一名、コネクチカット州は五名、紐育州は六名、ニューヨークシャーシー州は四名、ペンシルヴァニア州は八名、デラウエア州は一名、メリーランド州は六名、ノースカロライナ州は四名、サウスカロライナ州は五名、ジョージア州は三名を選出する權利を有す

四、州選出議員に欠員を生じたるときは州の行政官は直ちに選舉を施行することを要す。

五、下院は其議長并に役員を選舉し及び彈劾を爲す權を有す。

第三條 一、上院は各州の議會より選出されたる二名の議員を以て之を組織し各議員の任期を六箇年とす。

二、選舉の後上院議員を召集したるときは直に議員を三級に分つ。

第一級に屬する者は第二年の終りに於て、第二級に屬する者は第四年の終りに於て、第三級に屬する者は第六年の終りに於て各任期を終了す。

上院議員三分の一の補欠選舉は二年毎に之を行ふ、州議會閉會中上院議員の辭職の爲に欠員を生じたるときは州行政官は次の議會開會の時まで臨時議員

第一章 立法權

第一條 國の立法權は上下兩院より成る國の議會に屬す。

第二條 一、下院は二年毎に各州の人民より選舉したる議員を以て之を組織し各州の選舉人は其州議會の議員の選舉人たる資格を具備することを要す。

二、年齡滿二十五歲に達し七箇年以上其州の市民となり其選舉の當時現に其州の住民たらざる者は議員となるを得ず。

三、下院議員及び直接國税は其數に應じて聯合に加入したる州の間に之を分配し其數は一定の年限勤務に服する者を含み自由民の總數を加算して之を決定す但し租税を賦課せざる印度人は之を除く。

數の計算は第一議會開會後三年以内及び各十年毎に法律の規定する方法に従て之を行ふ。

下院議員の數は三万人毎に一人を超過することを得ず。但し各州は少くとも一名の下院議員を選出するものとす。

右の計算を爲す時までニュハムプシアイア州は三名マサチュセツツ州は八名

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亞米利加合衆國憲法

なるに至らんが爲に、戦争をするのである。

かゝる大事に對して、吾々は生命と財産と、有らん限りの力、持てる限りの力を捧げるのである。亞米利加が其國を建設したる主義の爲めに、茲に蓄積したる幸福と平和との爲に、進んで其血其力を傾くべき使命があるといふ誇りの念を以て、捧げるべき時機が來たのである。皇天希くは吾國を守護せよ。亞米利加の進むべきは唯此一途のみである。

大多數は永く愛國誠實に於て他意他心なき忠良なる亞米利加人であるのである。

是等の人々は、若し少數の他意あるものあれば、之を責め強制して、吾々と共に立つことを激勵すること信ずるのである。

萬一不忠實の徒あふば斷乎たる鐵腕をもつて壓迫制裁するのである。然し若し頭を擡げるやうの事があるとしても、其は僅に此所彼所の一隅に於てのみで、然も無賴漢三四輩の外には之に加はる者はあるまいと思ふ。

上下兩院の諸君。以上陳述せる所は寔に苦しき義務であつたのである。これより先き數ヶ月に渉りて、恐怖すべき試練により一大修羅場を現出するかも知れないのである。此偉大なる平和の國を、開闢以來最も不吉なる戰爭の渦中に投ずることは、實に恐怖すべきことである。文明そのものは戰爭に對しては正に死活の危機に頻してゐる。然しながら、權利は平和よりも更に貴きものである。吾々の胸に抱きたる民主主義の爲に、自己の政府に對して發言權を有する權威に従ふ人々の爲に、小國民の權利と自由との爲に、自由國民相互協同一致し、正義は世界限なく勢を占め、凡ての國家に平和と安寧とを齎らし、世界其ものが遂に自由と

の誠意と自由とによりて充分安全となれば、それで満足するのである。

吾々は一國民に對して敵意を有せず。又之に害を加へ不利を來たさうとする心はない。唯偏に人類に對し、權利に對する凡ての考慮を棄て、狂暴なる無責任なる政府に對し、戰鬪を以て起て之に反對するのである。戰ふに於て私怨あるのではない、私憤あるのではない。

繰返していふ。吾々は獨逸の人民に對しては誠實なる味方である。而して一日も早く相互間の利益なる親密なる關係を再び結ぶに至らんことを希望してゐるものである。獨逸國民が吾々の衷心希望を信ずることは時間を要することであるが、吾々は忌はしき過去數ヶ月の間獨逸政府に對して克く隱忍してゐたのは、國民に對する親善の情があつたればこそであり、然うでなければ逆も出來得ぬ忍耐も抑制もして來たのである。吾々は幸にして引き續き此親善の誠意を、日々吾々と生活と同ふする所の獨逸系の數百万の男女に對して、日々の態度と行爲とに依つて證據立る機會をもつのである。且吾々は此危機に際して、事實其隣人に對し政府に對して忠順なる人々には、之を證據立ることを誇りとするものである。彼等の

組織せる兵力を擁し、常に吾々をして其目的の如何なるかを知るに苦しむ底の事を成さんと待構て居るのを見ては、世界の民主的政府は遂に其堵に安んずることが出来ないのである。

吾々は今や將に此の自由に對する先天的敵國に對して其挑戰に應せんとするのである。而して其横暴を絶滅し、其跳梁を制御せんが爲に、國力の全體を傾倒するも辭する所ではないのである。吾々は虚偽なる口實に隠るゝことなく、堂々として世界究竟の平和と、其人民の自由との爲に戰ふのである。人民といふ中には獨逸國民も含んでゐる。凡て大と小とを問はず國民の權利の爲に、又到る所人間の生活と從順との途を選択する權利を得せしめんが爲に、戰ふに至つたことを喜ぶのである。世界は民主主義の爲に平和であらねばならぬ。其平和は政治自由の安全なる基礎の上に建設せられざるべからずである。

吾々は何等利己的目的を有せず。吾々は侵略を望まず、領土を欲せず。吾々は更に賠償を求めない。自由意志の上に犠牲を拂ひて然も物質上の報償を求めない。吾々は一意人類の權利の爲に戰ふ一選手たるに過ぎない。吾々は此の權利が國民

破壊し終らんとせる陰謀が、獨逸帝國政府より合衆國政府に信任狀を附與せる官吏の教唆、後援、甚だしきは直接の指揮に依りて企てられたといふことは、不幸にも臆説にあらずして、吾法廷に於て證明せられたのである。

かゝる事件を抑制し、陰謀を勦絶せんとするに當てさへ、吾々は彼等に對して出來得る限り寛大なる判斷を與へやうとしたのである。如何にとなれば、吾々は其由來する所が、獨逸國の吾等に對する敵國の感情、精神にあるにあらずして、彼等は確かに吾々と同様に、かゝる企圖を知らず、一に如何なる事を爲すにも人民をして知らしめざる、專斷なる政府の利己的計畫にあるといふことを知てゐるからである。然も其政府が爲す所は、吾等に對して一も親善の行爲を有せず。時には吾等の平和と安寧とを攪亂する意圖あるものであるといふことを悟らしめたからである。敵を吾が脚下に起らしむべく煽動したことは、中途にて吾手に入りたる、墨西哥首府に於る獨逸公使宛の覺書が明白なる證據である。

吾々は此敵意を有せる挑戰に應せんとするのである。如何となれば斯る手段を行ふ政府に於て、友邦たるを得んとするも斷じて不可能であるからである。且其

と稱せられてゐたのである。

其政治的建設物の頂上に冠つてゐた專制政府は長く續いてゐた。其權力の實相は恐怖すべきものであつたが、實は露西亞の起源にも、風習にも、目的にもあらざるものであつた。而して今や其は振落されて、寛裕なる其國民は、固有の威嚴と威力を保持して、世界に於ける自由の爲に、正義の爲に、平和の爲に奮闘しつゝある勢力に加はつたのである。此の如く信義の同盟に加はるに適應せる國民である。

蓋し普魯西專制主義は、我々の親友ではなかつた。又到底親善なることの出来ないものであるといふことを我々に悟らしむるに至つたのである。その事柄の一としては、今次戦争開始當時より該政府は、我社會に、太しきは我官衙の裡に、夥しく間諜を放て、我國民的一致と國論とを攪亂する犯罪的陰謀を企圖し、内には産業、外には通商の平和を累したといふことである。

今に至りて之を見れば、其等の間諜は戦争開始以前より既に早く入込んで居たことは明白である。然して一再ならず、己に我國の平和を攪亂し、吾國の産業を

る所に於ては、幸に不可能事である。

平和に對する堅實なる協同は、民主的國民の組合を作るより外には、決して維持せらるべきものではない。專制政府は、中に信義を守り、外に約束を支持することは到底覺束ないのである。それは名譽の同盟、主張の一致でなければ能はぬことである。

陰謀は其生命を喰破る。内部に隠れて任意な計畫を立て、何人にも之を知らさざる陰謀も、遂に其心臓を蠱毒し終るのである。獨り自由の國民のみ克く共同の目的に對し、固く其初一念を採り、信義を守り、自己の利益を去りて人類の利益に就くことが出来るのである。

思ふに吾亞米利加人は、過去數週間内に露西亞國內に起りたる、驚くべき又痛快なる出来事により、世界將來の平和に對する吾人の希望に、層一層の確信が加へられて來たといふことを感ぜぬものはあるまいと思ふ。

露西亞は其國を最も能く諒解せる人々には、其根本思想に於て、其天性を現はすべき社交關係に於て、其人生に對する習俗的態度に於て、實際民主的であつた

對する責任の、同一標準の恪守せらるべきことを主張すべき時代の劈頭に立て居るのである。

吾々は獨逸國民に對しては爭鬪の意志あるにあらず、寧ろ同情と親善の情あるのみである。獨逸政府が此戰爭を開始したるは、彼等人民の要求にはあらず、人民は豫め之を知り又は之を是認したのではなかつたのである。

其は昔の不幸なる時代に於て、民意は何處に於ても統治者の顧みる所とならず戰爭はいつも其國民を擔保とし機械として使用したる君主、若くは少數者野心家の利益の爲に、惹き起されたと同様の決定によつて開始されたる戰爭である。

自治の國民は其隣邦を軍事の間牒を以て充すことはしない。又征服し攻撃する機會を與ふる危機を招致する如き陰謀を企てない。かゝる計畫は獨り何人も窺知する能はざる陰密の裡にのみの確に行はるべきものである。

代々繼承せる謠詐の企圖、侵略の計畫は、獨り宮殿の密室中に於て、若くは少數權勢家の間に警戒を重ねたる密議の裡に於てのみ成立し、保持し得らるものである。かゝる事は輿論の支配する所、國務の一切に亘りて充分の報告を要求す

である。予自身の考慮は過去二ヶ月間の不幸なる出来事の爲に、敢て常規を逸するものではない。而して予は吾國民の考慮も亦之が爲に變更せられ若くは眩惑せられたとは信じないのである。

予は去る一月二十二日に上院に於て言明し、更に二月三日及二月二十六日に下院に於て言明せし事實を、今日猶且然りと信じてゐるのである。

吾々の目的は今も其當時と同じく、利己的專制的なる暴力に對して、世界の生活に於る正義と平和との眞理を擁護し、眞に自由自治なる世界諸國民の間に、意志と行爲とを一にするもの、相結んで以て今後此原則を遵守するを確保せんとするのである。

多數人民の意志にあらざる、少數者の意志に左右せらるゝ組織的武力を後援とせる專制政府の存在が、世界の平和、世界人民に對して、之を脅迫するとすれば局外中立も最早無効であり、望ましき事では無い。事茲に至ては局外中立は已に最後である。

吾々は、今や國民及其政府が、文明國の市民の間に遵守せらるゝ行爲、非行に

りて生じ来る通貨の濫出、物價の騰貴、厭はしき困難、災害に對して保護すべきが我々の義務であることを自覺すべきである。

是等の事柄を成就すべき方法を實行するに當りて、我々の常に心得て居なければならぬ事は、我國家の軍備を充實し、兵力を増加するといふ實際的義務を果すに累を及ぼさざる限りに於て、既に獨逸と交戰中にある聯合諸國に對し、我助力に依てのみ得らるゝ總ての軍需品を供給する義務を遂行するがよいといふことである。聯合軍は現に戰場に在る。我々は有ゆる道を講じて其實効果を期すべく彼等を援助すべきである。

予は政府行政の各部を通じて、前述の目的を完成せんが爲に諸法案を提出して委員會の熟議を仰ぐことにする。是等の法案は戰爭を遂行し、國民を保護する責任の衝にある政府當局の各部が、慎重審議の上にて作成したものであるとして諸君の協賛を希望する。

我々は此の如き重大なる事を行ふと同時に、この動機、この目的の如何といふことを、我々自身に明らかにし、猶世界に向つても充分明らかにしたいと思ふの

の援助をなし、我等の最高限度の資源を供給するの必要が起て来る。我國家の凡ての物質機關を組織し、動員して、軍需品を供給し、且充分に我國家不時の要に備ふるといふ必要も伴つて起て来る。充分にといつても出來得る限り經濟的に實効果を期すべきは無論である。海軍を各方面に涉りて迅速に充分に武裝準備し、特に敵國潛航艇に對する最良法を講ずるといふ必要も起て来る。我合衆國の陸軍を、開戦の場合に對する規定に従て、直ちに少くとも五十萬に増加すること。之を選抜するには、予の考ふる處によれば、國民は總て皆兵役の義務ありといふ原則に依り、其と同時に引續き必要に應じ教育し能ふ限り猶ほ同數の増兵をなし得る權利を政府に附與するといふ必要も起て来るのである。

且又現在の國民が協賛したる増税法によりて、平等に堪え得る限りの範圍内に於て、適應なる軍費募集の權利を政府に附與する必要も伴つて起る。予がいふ所の増税によりて不都合の生ぜざる限り堪ゆるといふことに就ては、現に必要な軍事費を全然國債にのみ依るといふことは、最も賢明なる方法ではないと思ふのである。予は切に希望する。我國民は出來得る限りを盡して、巨大なる國債によ

して、交戦國民たる權利を効力なき戰爭圏内に引入れるに相違ないからである。

我々は斷じて取る能はざる、又取ることを許されざる途が一つある。我々は屈辱の途を取ることは出来ない。我國民の有する最も神聖なる權利を無視され我人民に暴行を加へらるゝことを容認することは出来ない。我々の敵の非法暴行たるや人間の生命の根本を絶つべき非法暴行である。

予の今取らんとする手段は、嚴肅にして且つ悲痛なる性質を有するものである又之に伴ふ責任の重大なる可きことを深く意識し、自ら憲法上の義務であると考ふるに躊躇せず。従て我議會が獨逸帝國政府最近の所業は實に我合衆國の政府と人民とに對して開戦せると擇ぶ所なきものであることを闡明し、我政府と人民とは正式に、此の如く強ひられたる交戦國民といふ狀態を承認し、速時我國を一層徹底せる防備の地位に置くの手段を講じ、又正に其全力を傾倒し、其全資源を用ゐて以て獨逸帝國政府を屈服せしめ、戰爭を終結せしむることを望むのである。

之に依り起て來ることは明瞭である。現に獨逸と交戦中に在る聯合諸國と結束行動共に出來得る限り協同一致し、それに伴ふて是等諸國に對し豊富なる財政上

ることである。如何なれば獨逸の潜航艇策戰の如きは事實國際法破棄であつて公法上商船は、公海に於て武裝商船若くは巡洋艦等の追撃を受けたる場合に、正當に避難し得る規定に従て行動し得べきに、刻下一般船舶は獨逸潜航艇の攻撃を避くることは到底不可能であるからである。

かゝる場合に臨んでは、潜航艇が未だ其企てを明らかにせざるに先だち、之を破壊するに努むるといふことは、當然であり又實に遺憾ながら已むを得ざることである。事既に決する上は發見直ちに撃沈するより外は無いのである。

獨逸政府は、其指定せる海上の範圍内に於て中立國が武裝する權利を、近代の公法學者の未だ曾て正當防禦たるを疑つたものゝなきに、其權利を保護せんとする場合に於ても之を否定するのである。而して我々が商船に武裝を附したるは國際法の埒外に出たもの故、海賊に對すると同様に扱ふべしといふ通告を受けたのである。武裝中立は例へ理想的に行はれたとしても猶且つ無効力のものであるがかゝる場合、かゝる主張に際しては無効といふよりは寧ろ惡結果である。そは豫防の目的が却て直ちに實現を促す虞れがあるからである。そは事實に於て我國を

國に對する戰爭である。亞米利加の船舶が撃沈せられ人命が奪はれたと聞く時、吾等は實に憤慨に堪えぬ。然も他中立諸國の船舶も人民も同様海上に於て撃沈覆滅の厄に遭ふたのである。此の如き暴行は何等の識別もない、凡ての人類に挑戰して居るのである。各國は如何に之に對するかを自ら決しなければならぬ。吾等自ら之を決するに當て、一國家として我々の品格、我々の動機にふさはしき様、沈着穩健以て之を判斷して其去就を定むべきである。我々は激昂せる感情を避けねばならぬ。我々の動機は、復讐又は我國民の物質的威力を以てする示威的行爲であつてはならない。唯偏に權利を——人類の權利を擁護せんとする一選手たるに過ぎないのである。

予が去る二月二十六日議會に報告したる際には、予は我中立國の權利を主張し無法なる妨害に對して我々の公海を使用する權利を主張し、更に無法なる横暴に對して我國民を安全ならしむべき權利を主張するに、武裝を以てせば足ると考へてゐたのであつた。

然るに今にして之を思へば、武裝中立といふことは言ふべくして行ふべからざ

のである。一步一步苦き経験よりこの法律は出来たもので、即ち究むべきを究め悉したものであるが、猶其効果は至て微弱なるものである。が然し少くとも人類の衷情と良心とは何を要求するかといふ事だけは耿々として之を窺ふことが出来るのである。

かうした僅少なる權利を、獨逸政府は復報である、必要であるといふ口實の下に破棄した。然も海上に於ては他に使用するに足る武器がない。國際法の裡に存する人道に對する顧慮、協約に對する敬意を無視せずして此武器を使用することは不可能であるが故に實行するのみと斷定したのである。

予は之が爲に生ずる財産の損害の莫大なるものであらうと思ふが、今はそれを考慮する暇がないのである。唯普通人民として、近代史上最も暗黒なる時期に於ですらも、罪もなく正當なりと認められたる業務に従事せる男女老若に對して焦心して居るのである。財産は之を恢復することが出来る。然も平和を愛する無邪氣なる人民の生命は償ふことは出来ないのである。

現下獨逸が通商貿易に對する潜航艇攻撃は、人類に對する攻撃である。世界各

したのでも明らかではあるが、猶幾分控目にするといふ所は認められてゐたのである。

今次の新方針は全然制限を排して、有ゆる種類の船舶、其國旗、其性質、其積貨、其目的地、其使命が何であらうと會釋することなく、海底に葬り終るのである。豫告も與へず。乗組員を救助するとか、同情するとかいふことは思ひも寄らず。親善なる中立國の船舶も交戰國のそれと同様である。病院船であらうが、痛ましくも流離轉沛の厄に遭へる白耳義の人民に救助品を齎らす船であらうが、擇ぶ所が無い。特に後者の如きは、獨逸政府の指定したる海上を通過すべきで、無事通航の手續も出來て居り明白に識別し得べき徽號も附し居るにも拘らず、猶且同様無殘にも撃沈され終つたのである。

予は暫らくの間は此の如き事が人道を尊重すべき文明國民の列に加つて居る政府にして實際可能なりと信ずることが出來なかつたのである。國際法なるものは元來海といふものは何れの國家にも之を支配する權利が無い。世界の自由なる公道であるが故に、此海上に尊重し服膺すべき通規を設くるを至當として起つたも

予が臨時議會を召集して會議を開くに至りたるは、國家の政策に關し、重大なる判斷を爲さねばならぬ。然も直に決定せねばならぬ機に際會したるが爲である。然して之を爲すの責任を予が負ふべきは正當にも非らず、又憲法上許可さるべきことでもないのである。

去る二月三日に、予は公式に諸君に對して報告せし。それは獨逸帝國政府が二月一日より以降、法律と人道との凡ての約束を排して、其潛航艇を用ゐ、大英國及愛蘭、若くは歐羅巴西海岸の諸港、或は地中海内に在て獨逸の敵國主配の下にある諸港に赴かんとする船舶を悉く擊沈すべしといふ破天荒の宣言である。これは開戰當初よりの潛航艇戰の目的であつたと思ふ。然るに昨年四月以來は、獨逸政府も、我政府の致したる約束に應じ、即ち旅客を乗せたる船舶は擊沈せず、又潛航艇が擊沈せんとする場合に、抵抗もせず遁走も企てないならば、適當の豫告を與へ、其乗組員には少くとも救助艇により生命を救ふ充分の機會を與へるといふので、幾分潛航艇長をして其暴行を控えさせた。その豫告なるものが信を置難いといふことは、此殘忍なる卑怯なる行動の進む中に幾多の無慘なる實例を出

宣 戰 の 教 書

ウツドロウ、ウイルソン

一九一七年四月二日

議會にて

て奮闘したる將卒の、此に至る迄の貴き事業の未完の部分の爲に、吾人自らを捧げねばならぬのである。吾人今茲に集りしものは、吾人の前に残されたる大事业の爲に身命を捧げねばならぬのである。此處に戰歿せる貴き人々を範とし、此の人々の最後まで熱誠を盡したる一大事の爲に、愈忠誠を勵まねばならぬのである。此場に於て吾人は、是等戰死者をして決して無益の犠牲たらしめず、此國民をして皇天守護の下に新なる自由の生誕を誓ひ、人民の政府、人民によれる政府、人民の爲の政府を、世界の上より亡滅せざることを期する充分なる覺悟を爲すべきである。

八十七年以前、吾人の祖先は此大陸に、自由を生命とし、萬民平等の大義を宗とせる新國家を創建せられたのである。

吾人は現に一大内亂戰爭に従事して居る。これは自由を生命とし、平等を宗義とせる一國民、或はあらゆる國民が、果し存續し得るや否やの試金石であるのである。吾人は此處に戰役中の最大戰場たりし場所に集つたのである。吾人は此國家の永續を期するが爲に、其生命を捧げた人々の最後の安息所として、此戰場の一部を備へる爲に、此處に會したのである。吾人の務めとしては全く適應の且つ至當のことである。

然し廣き意味に於て吾人は、此土地を備へる、神聖にする、清淨にするといふことは出来ない。茲に惡戰苦闘した、生ける、死せる義勇の人々が既に此土地を清淨にしてゐるのである。吾人の微弱なる力で毫末も之を増減することは出来ないのである。故に世界は吾人が今如何なることを演説するとも、それは殆ど何等の注意ともならず、又永遠の記憶もないと思ふ。然し將卒が此地に於て實現せる行爲は、決して忘られるものではない。然れども吾人生存して居るものは、此土に於

ゲチスバルクに於ける式辭

エブラハム、リンカーン

一八六三年十一月十九日

を得、其の至公至明なる市民の叡智によりて次第に之を完成し、其治下に於て無前無比の惠澤に浴し來りたるを以て、國民を舉げて之が防禦に全幅の精神を傾倒す。吾人は此故を以て誠心誠意合衆國と此等諸國との間に存する親善なる交誼に訴へ、諸國に於て其政治組織を此半球の如何なる部分にても推及爲さんとするものあれば、吾人は之を以て我國の平和と安全とを危うせんとするものと認むべきことを宣言す。既に存する歐羅巴諸國の植民地若しくは屬國に對しては、吾人は今日に至る迄之に干渉せず、將來も亦干渉すること無かる可し。然も既に其獨立を宣言し、之を維持し、而して吾人も亦慎重熟慮、之を正當なりとして其獨立を承認したる國家に對し、歐羅巴の如何なる邦國と雖、其政府を壓服し、若くは其運命を支配せんと欲して干與することあれば、吾人は之を以て合衆國に對する不親不善の意志を表示せるものと解すべきなり。

前議會開會の劈頭に當り、西班牙及葡萄牙に於て、兩國人民の情態を改良すべき大努力の行はれつゝあること、其が格外溫和に處理せられつゝあることを叙べたり。然るに今日迄の事績に徴するに其結果は當時豫期せし所と頗る相違する所あるは言を須たざるなり。蓋し地球上、我國民と交通頻繁を極め、且つ我國民の由來せる其方面の事件に對しては、我國民は常は焦心焦慮の傍觀者なりき。合衆國の市民は太西洋の彼岸に於ける國民の自由と幸福とに關しては、最も親善なる感情を懷く。

歐羅巴諸國自らに關する事柄に就て開戦するに際しては、吾人は今日に至る迄斷じて之に加はらず。之我國是の容さざる所なれば也。唯吾人の權利にして侵害を蒙り、若くは忌はしき脅迫を受けたる時に於て、其禍害を咎めんが爲に、國家防衛の備を修むるのみ。若し夫れ此半球に於ける行動に關しては、吾人は一層直接の關係あり。凡ての公平公明なる觀察者は其理由を知るべし。聯合諸國の政治組織は此點に於て亞米利加の夫れと本質を異にせり。此相違は相互政府の間に存する相違より生ず。而して吾人の政府は夥しき血と財産とを費して始めて之



第七年度教書

ジエームス・モンロー

一八三三年十二月二日

ワシントンにて

とも思ふのであります。ごういふ誤りを致しましたとしても、皇天の力、何卒之より生じ来る禍を遮ぎり幸福に變ずる様にと熱心に御禱り申上げます。又我國家もごうか其點は寛恕下されたい。不肖四十五年正直熱心に國事に捧げて生來才能の足りない所より起つた過失は、ごうか閑却に附して戴きたい。かう申す私自身やがて安息の宮殿に參ることありますので。

この點に於て他の事に於けると同じく、國家の温情に信賴し、この國を以て自己の、又數代の祖先の故郷と思ふて居る人間に自然に起る熱烈なる愛國の情を懷きて、私は隱退の日を今から愉快なる期待を以て居るものであります。隱退した上は我市民諸君の一員となつて自由なる政府の下に、善良なる法治の恩澤に與かるといふ心ゆく樂を他意なく致したいものと思ふてをります。……これが私の心に秘めた豫てよりの望で、且私共互に注意し努力し危險も犯した事に對する眞に有難き報酬であります。

く申上げる必要はありません。唯私は、此權利は私の諒解する限りに於ては、交戦國の何れも之を拒否せず、却て凡ての國が事實上承認して居るといふことだけを申上げたいと思ふのであります。

中立の態度を維持すべきものであるといふことは、他に別に理由がなくても、國民が進退自由なる場合に於ては正義人道の上から、他の國民に對して平和親善の關係を傷けずに保つて行く責任があるといふことからでも推論し得らるゝことであります。

この態度を守るに就て、利害如何といふことは諸君自身の省慮と經驗とに訴ふるのが最も良策と思ひます。私に於ては、かうする第一の理由は、我國に對し其最近成立せし制度を確立せしめ、完成せしめ、障礙なく進歩せしめて、人間的に申せば自己の運命を自ら主配することの出来る程の力と統一とを與ふ爲に、時日を得させたいものであるといふのであります。

今不肖在職中の出來事を回顧致しまして、好んで誤りを致したといふ覺えはないのでありますが、然し缺點の多い私の事故、澤山の誤りを致した事であらうか

ここは、公の記録並に種々の行動が諸君と世界とに對して證明するに相違ないと思ひます。私自身に取りましては良心に省み、少くとも自ら如上の主義に則つたと堅く信ずるのであります。

今も歐羅巴に引續いて居る戦争に關しては一七九三年四月二十二日を以て布告致しました事が、私の計畫の索引であります。諸君の賛成の聲と上下兩院の代議士諸君の協賛とによりて通過しましたので、あの法案の精神は、私の常に眷々服膺し來つた處で、之を止め、之を移さんとするものあるも動かされなかつたのであります。

私の得らるゝ限りの最も善き光りをかりて、丁寧に攷究したのでありますが、私は我國があの場合如何なる事情があつても中立の地位を取る權利があり、またさうするのが義務でもあれば利益でもあるといふことを知つて充分満足して居ります、既に中立の地位を取りし以上、私の力の及ぶ限り、謙和、堅忍、確固以て之を維持してゆくと覺悟したのであります。

この態度を固持する權利を尊重しなければならぬ所由に就ては、この際管々し

却て非難さるゝ様な事になるのである。國民と國民との間に、其の恩惠の受授を豫想し打算する、過ち之より大なるはなしであります。かゝる幻像は經驗によりて癒すべきであるが、苟くも自尊心あるものは此の如き幻像を破却し去るべきであります。

市民の各位。年久しく愛國の情溢るゝ友人が、かく思ひの儘を諸君の前に披瀝しましたが、私はこれが強き且つ消えざる、印象を残すのであらうとか、私の言葉が國民感情の日々の流を支配し、我國民をして今日迄他國民の運命に伴ふた道筋に踏み込みしむるを喰止むであらう、など希望することを敢てしませぬ。然し若し私の申上げたことが幾分でも御爲になり、時々善かりしといふ思出の様なことがあれば——私の申上げたことが時々思ひ出でられ黨派的精神の強暴を緩和し外國の陰謀に對する警告となり、似而非愛國心の欺瞞を防ぐやうな事になれば、——一に諸君の幸福に對して眷々の微衷から起つて申上げたので、此上の御禮はないのであります。

私が公務を辭するに際して、幾何唯今迄申上げた主義に則つて參つたかといふ

一旦緩急ある場合に於て、安心して一時的同盟を結ぶことも出来るのであります。政策の上よりいふも、人道の上よりいふも、利益の上よりいふも、凡ての國民と調和し自由に通交して行くことは望ましい事です。

私共の商業政策は、常に平等にして偏頗なきを期し、特別の恩恵を與へ、區別を立てるといふことをなさず、又立てられてもいけない。よく事態自然の推移に鑑みて、溫和の手段に依りて通商の流れを、廣くもし差別もし、決して無理をせず。列國に通商の道を安定せんが爲に、若し我商人の權利を規定し、政府をして其商人を保護せしむる様にしたいといふ國があるならば、其國と當時の事情と相互の意見の許す最上の通商條約を結んで、然かも其は便宜上のもので、一時的で、いつでも事情や經驗の指定する所に從て、廢棄することも出来れば變更することも出来る餘地を作つて置き。只常に忘れてはならない事は、一國民が他國民より無私の恩恵を得んとするは愚な事であつて、若し其のやうなことを受くれば自己の獨立の一部を其代償として、やらなければならぬ事になる。かくの如き恩恵を受ければ、名許りの恩恵に對して、其と同等のものを與へ、その少きときは

利の示す所に從て和戰何れをも選ぶことが出来るといふ時の來るのも遠い事ではあるまいと思ひます。

かゝる特殊の地位より生ずる利益を捨てる理由が何處に在りませう。私共の國土を去つて、外國の領地に立つ理由が何處にありませう。私共の運命を歐羅巴の或部分の運命と結び合せて、歐羅巴の野心、競争、利害、感情、轉變の渦中に私共の平和と繁榮を投ずる必要が何處に在りませうや。

私共の眞の國策は、差支なき限り、外國の何れのものとも、永久の同盟を避ける様にして進むといふことに在るのであります。かく申しても私は既に存する協約に對して不信違約を薦めるなどの意味は毛頭ないことは承知せられたい。私は正直は常に最上の政策なりといふ格言は、私事に於けると同じく公事に於ても適用すべきものと信じて居ります。故に私は既成の協約は表裏なく守るべきものであるといふ事を繰返していひます。然かし之を擴張するといふことは不必要であつて且愚な事だらうと思ひます。

常に注意して私共を尊敬すべき防禦的地位に安置する様にするならば、私共は

ある。

歐羅巴諸國は、私共とは關係がない、若くは關係が遠いけれども、彼等の間には相互に大切な利害關係を多く持て居るのであります。従つて度々爭鬭の起るは已むを得ない事でありますが、其原因は實質上私共の懸念すべき所のものではない。其故に歐羅巴政局常時の變轉に對し、其友國敵國の或は相結び或は相閲ぐに對して、態々協約同盟を結んで其渦中に投ずるといふことは、愚なることに相違ないのであります。

我國の遠く離れた所に位することは、別な道筋を取て行くことを薦めるのであります。又それが可能であります。若し私共の有力なる政府の下に一國民として續いて行つたならば、私共が外難より來たる物質上の損害を防ぎ止むることの出来る時機は遠からざること、思ひます。若し私共はいつでも局外中立の態度を取ることになれば、外國も之を尊敬することになる。交戰國民も到底私共の國に於て領土を獲得することは不可能であるといふことになれば、私共の敵意を挑發する様なことを、妄にする譯には行かなくなる。さうすれば私共は正義に則り、我國

後者の附屬物となつて了ふのである。

市民の各位、何卒不肖の言を信ぜられたい。不斷に窺ふ所の外國の勢力に對して、自由の國民は常に嫉視の眼を睜らねばならぬ。外國の勢力は共和政治の最も憎むべき敵であることは、歴史と經驗との證明する所であります。然し懸念により實効をあぐるには、公平無私でなければならぬ。然うでない之を防止し能はざるのみならず、却て避けんとする勢力の機關となり終るのである。一の外國民を過度に偏愛し、他の外國民を過度に憎惡すれば、其弊は遂に危險を一方にのみ見て、却て他方の政畧を掩護するといふ結果になる。眞に國を憂ふるの士の起て偏愛する國の陰謀に反抗するものあれば、猜疑の下に厭ふべき名目を附られ、却て其外國の機關となり傀儡となつて居るものが、自己の利益を人手に渡しながら人民の賞讃と信任とを横奪するといふことになるのである。

故に私共の外國民に對する態度の大原則は、通商關係を擴張すると同時に、政治的關係を出來得る限り輕減するといふことであります。既に約束を結んだものは充分に信義を守て之を果さなければならぬ。が其處で止まねばならないので

讓與は當然自國に保有すべきものにして、然も必要迫らざるに放擲するので、且一方にはこれと同時に此特權を得んとして得られざるものに、嫉妬、惡意、復讐の念を誘發するので、即ち二重に國家を害することになるのである。且其は野心ある、又は買收せられたる、或は迷はされたる市民に、自己の本國の利益を裏切らせる犠牲にさせる便宜を與へるので。然も責むる能はざるものである。時には當然爲すべき事を果したる行爲であり、輿論の趨く所に從つた推奨すべき所業であり、國利民福に熱心なる賞讃すべき所爲であると評さるゝ事もあるが、何ぞ知らん。これ野心に動され、買收に致され、昏迷に陥りたる卑むべき、若くは愚なる行爲なることを。

外國の勢力の通路は種々あるので有ますが、かゝる偏愛は眞に見識あり獨立心ある愛國者より見れば、特に忌はしいものであります。かゝる偏愛の爲に國奴の黨争は無用の干渉を受ける、誘惑手段を講せられる、輿論を惡導する、公論を動搖させる、威壓する、といったやうな機會を作つたことは幾度であるか分りませぬ。若しかく偏愛する國民が微弱のもので、相手が強大のものであれば、前者はいつか

忘れ其利益を顧みない様になるに於て同一である。若し一國民に對して反感情を懷けば、僅少の事猶互に嘲弄し、侮辱し合ふやうになる。偶然に些末な議論の相違より暴慢的態度を起すものになります。

其處で度々衝突する、執着的に痛ましき爭鬭となる。國民は互に惡意怨恨の激する所となつて、政府を驅つて最良なる政策の打算と反對なる戰爭を起さしむる様になる。政府も時には國民と感情を一にして、情に激し理性を忘れることがある。時には又國民の敵意を奇貨措く可しとして、自尊心、功名心、其他厭ふべく忌むべき動機より、開戦を實現せしむることがある。是の如くにして國民の平和と自由とは同時に其犠牲とせられるのであります。

それと同じく一國民が他の國民に餘りに愛着的に熱することが種々の禍を生ずるものであります。好意的國民に同情して、事實共通の利害もあらざるに、恰も共通の利害あるかの如き幻影を惹起し、他の敵對感情迄も負擔し、好意的國民が戰爭をすることがあれば、適當な交誼も道理も無きにそれに參加する様になり。或は又好意的國民に他國民に與へざる特權をも讓與するといふことになる。此の

凡ての平和調節を求むる様にありたいのであります。之は宗教と道德とが促がす筈であります。然し政策の上よりも亦かくありたいものと思ひます。自由にして、文明にして、遠からざる中に大國民たらんとする我等に於ては、正に宜しく人類に對して常に正義と仁慈とに指導さるゝといふ高邁な清新な模範を示すべきであります。是の如き抱負を懷いて斷々乎として之に忠ならんか、假令其れが爲に一時利益を失ふことがあつても、時たち事進むに於て其收獲は一時の損を償ふことは疑ひなき事であります。國民の永久の幸福は其美德に伴ふといふ、之は天意爭ふべからざる事である。又之を實現するは人間性を貴からしむ、有ゆる感情の一致する所である。そも亦菲徳なるが故に之を試むるを不可能なりとなすか。

此の抱負を實行せんとするに當りては、特殊の國民を永久に憎み、他の國民に熱烈に愛着するといふことを止めて、凡てに對して正當なる親善の好感を養ふといふことが何より大切なことであります。或る國民をば習慣的に憎惡し、他の國民をば習慣的に愛好するといふ國民は、奴隸といふてもよいのである。憎惡の念の奴隸となり、愛好の情の奴隸となつて居るのである。何れにしても其本分を

ふことも記憶しなければならぬのであります。猶又失費の機會を避ける許りでなく、平和の際に於て勤勉努力、以て避くべからざる事件の爲に生ずる負債を償却するに努め、國債の高まることを避けなければならない。吾等の當然負擔すべき重荷を子孫に負はせるといふことは不仁の甚きものであります。這般の格言を踐行するの任は代議士に在るのであるけれども、然し輿論が之と協力することが必要であります。代議士の任務を遂行するに便ならしめ様とするならば、諸君がこういう事を確固に心に留めて置くといふことが大切であります。負債を償却しやうとするには歳入がなくてはならぬ。租税を課すといふことはどうしても幾分諸君に好都合又は愉快だといふ譯に行かないのである。而して適當な税目を選択するといふ事は常に面倒なものであつて、實は其の事に元來面倒がついて廻はるものであるから、政府が一旦之を選択した場合には、充分に其苦衷を諒とし、國家緩急の際は何時歳入増加の必要を見るかも知れないのであるから、之を得るの法案に對しては宜しく信賴の念を以て對すべきであるといふことであります。

凡ての國民に對して信義を守り、正義を以て接する様にありたいのであります

歩を譲りて高尚な學校教育が特殊の心性を有するものに與ふる感化はどれ程であるとしても、國民道德は宗教的原理を無視して尙は能く立て行くといふことは、理性より見るも、經驗より言ふも、全く思ひも寄らぬ事であります。

節操、若くは道德が民衆本位の政治に缺く可らざる源泉であるといふことは眞實である。この法則は力の多少の差こそあれ自由政府のあらゆるものに及んで居るのである。故に眞に自由政府の誠實なる親友を以て任ずるものは、この組織の基礎を動搖なさんするものある場合に、冷然として觀過すべきでない。故に何よりも第一緊要の事として一般に智識を弘布する設備を振興す可きである。政治の組織が輿論の力を認めるに比例して、輿論の啓發の要はいよ／＼切實となるのであります。

國を強くし民を安んずるに極めて大切な法は、財政の信用を繋ぐにあるのであります。之を繋ぐ一方法は、最大限度に用途を節約し、平和を進めて失費の機會を避けるといふことにあります。然し又萬一の危險に對する準備の爲に機宜の支出をするといふ事は、之を避んとして却て更に多く支出する場合の少くないとい

他の權限を横奪するといふ方法は宜しくない。時に或は夫か好方便であると思はれる事もあらうが、自由の政府を滅ぼす武器は、常に茲にあることを思はなければならぬ。一旦先例が生ずると、永久の禍根となり、到底一時的の利便などにて相殺する譯には行かないのであります。

凡そ政治的の繁榮を馴致する凡ての氣稟、習慣の中に就て宗教と道德とは實に缺く可らざる支持者である。若し人類幸福の此基柱を覆さんと努むるものあらばそは斷じて國家を愛するの人ではありません。此二つのものは實に人として市民としての義務を支ゆる最も堅固なる基柱である。偏に政治にのみ携はる人も宗教者と同様に之を尊敬し愛護しなければならない。若し宗教と道德とが公私兩面の幸福と如何なる關係あるかを悉くさんとせば、一部の書と雖も悉くすることは出来ない。但茲にかういふ事を訊ねて見たい。宣誓といふことは法廷に於て訊問をする場合の形式となつて居るが、若し宗教的責任の念がこの宣誓に伴はなかつたらば、財産、名譽、生命の保護を何處に求むべきか。尙ほ又道德は宗教なくして維持せられ得るものであるといふ様な憶説は信するに足りないのである。假に一

を防がねばならぬ。然らずんば、溜めるに非ずして却て消滅して了ふ。

之と同じく、自由の國に於ては其政治を委託せられたる人々は、憲法の規定せる各自の埒を守り、一省一局の權限を行使するに際して、他省他局の權限を犯さぬ様に細心注意することを平生の用意とするのが大切であります。他の埒外に踏込むといふ精神は、凡ての課局の權限を一つに固める傾向を馴致し、自然、政府の形式はごうであつても、事實の專制政治を生み出すことになるのである。人類の心には權勢を愛し、ともすれば之を濫用せんとする情が潜んでゐるといふことに一度考へ到れば、個中の消息を解するに於て想半ばに過ぐるものがあります。政權を行使するに於ては、相互に牽制する、即ち之れを種々の部、省、課局に分配し、各自に他の侵犯に對して公安の保護者となる必要のあるといふことは、古往今來の經驗の證する處で、現に我國に於て、我々の事實に實驗したことであります。この風習を維持してゆくといふことは、かういふ制度を作ると同じ程に必要のことである。若し人民の考で憲法上權限の分配程度が不良であるといふことであれば、憲法に指定してある道理に依りて修正案を出して改正すればよい。唯

據もなき嫉妬、事實にもなき紛擾を以て社會を動搖せしむる。この一部を他の一部に對し敵意を燃さしむる。往々にして暴動一揆を醸もす。外國の勢力と腐敗とに對して門戸を開く。而して此等のものは黨派心の溝を傳ふて都合よく政府に近付くことになる。是の如くにして一國の政策も意志も他國の政策や意志の臣妾となつて了ふのであります。

或人はかういふ意見をいふかも知れない。自由の邦國に於ては黨派は政府の施政に對する有効なる制御であつて、自由の精神を生かして置くのに緊要なるものであると。これは或範圍内に於ては恐らく事實であらう。而して君主制の政治に於ては、其愛國心は黨派的精神に於て好意を表せざる迄も寛容の態度を取つても宜しいと思ふ。然も民衆本位の政治に於ては、純然たる選舉制の政府に於てはこの精神は決して獎勵すべきものではないのである。一体民衆政治本然の傾向よりして、あらゆる有益なる目的に對してはこの精神は常に充分に存し、而して過度となる恐れがあるのであるから、輿論の力によりて之を緩和し、之を適應することに努むべきである。消すべからざる火は、常に注意し、其焰の燃え上がること

て居て實に政治の最惡の仇敵であります。

一黨派が他黨派を壓迫して權勢を握る。黨派の争に伴ふて復讐の念が強くなる。これは種々なる時代、種々る國家に於て無法なることを平然として實行してゐるのである。實に黨派政治は事實に於て驚くべき專制政治であるのであります。然も其極は遂に一層正式な、永久的な專制政治を誘導するのである。次第に起る不秩序、不幸の爲に人心は遂に個人の獨裁力に安息を求むるやうになり、早晚或る隆盛なる黨の首領の、自己の競争者よりも一層大なるものか一層幸福なるものかが、この傾向を利用して、一般公衆の自由を破壊して自己顯達の志を遂げるやうになるのであります。

かういふことをも全く考へに容れて置なくてはならぬけれども、今は是程極端なことを豫想せずして、然も黨派精神は普通又絶えず危害を齎らすものであつて其點のみにても、賢明なる人々は、之を阻止し、抑制することを本分とすべきであります。

黨派精神は常に公論を攪亂し、一般行政を微弱ならしむるものである。そは根

大なる國に於て諸君共同の利益を有効に主管して行くといふには、完全なる自由の保證と矛盾せざる權力ある政府を必要とすることであります。自由其者はかゝる政府ありて其權力を適當に配合し適用してこそ初めて確實に保護せらるゝものである。政府の力微弱に過ぎ與黨の野心を制するに足らず、社會の各員を法律に依りて規定せられたる範圍に止めて、凡てのものをして身命財産の權利を安穩に受用することを得せしむるに足りない、といふ様では自由といふも畢竟名のみに過ぎないものとなつて了ふのであります。

私は既に諸君に國家に於る黨派の危險を、特に黨派を地理上の區別に基きて立てるといふ點からいつたのである。今度は猶少し廣い見解を取て、一般に黨派の精神の淺間しき結果に就て、最も嚴肅に諸君に注意したのであります。

此の精神は不幸にして人間性と離る可からざるもので、其根底を人間の心の最も強き慾情に托して居るものであります。此の精神は苟くも政府の在る處には種々なる形式となつて存して居る。潜在して居ることもある、抑へられて居る場合もある、沈黙して居ることもある。然し民衆本位の政府に於ては有らん限り増長し

了ふのである。其機關さへも一旦彼等を不正なる權位に上げせた後は、必ずや之を破壊し去るのであります。

されば諸君の政府を保安し、諸君現在の多幸なる状態を永久にするといふ爲めには、諸君が斷々乎として、其承認せられたる政府者に對する無法の反對に面を背けることが必要である許りではなく、苟も其根本原理を改廢しやうといふ精神の者には其標榜する處がどの様に美しくとも注意して反抗することが必要であります。之を破壊しやうといふ場合、或は憲法の形に於て、政府組織の力を損ずる様な變更をしやうとするかも知れない。而して直接顛覆することの出来ないものを陰密に覆さうとするかも知れない。種々の變改に諸君を誘ふことであらうが、何卒時と習慣といふものが、尠くとも他の人間社會の制度に於けるそれと同様に政府の眞價を定むるに同じく必要であるといふことを忘却せられない様に致したいのである。一國家既定の憲法の眞價を試むる標準は實に經驗である。空なる憶說意見を信用して輕忽に變更を企てるといふ事は、憶說意見の果てしもなく多い以上、變更又變更といふ事になる。特に記憶して置くべきは我々の國家の如く廣

に政府を作る権利があるといふことは、個人個人は成立政府に従ふべき義務があるといふことを豫想して居るのであります。

法律の施行に對する一切の障礙、凡ての結社、凡ての協會、苟くも正當なる當局の常規的思慮行動を指揮し、嵌制し、阻碍し、畏壓せんとする底意を有するに於ては如何なる善意の名目に於てするも此の根本原理を破壊する畏るべき傾向を有するものであります。かういふものは多く與黨を作ることになる。而して其處に人爲的な特殊な勢力を與ふる様になる。國民を代表せる意志の代りに與黨の意志を立てる様になる、其與黨といふも多くの場合權謀に富める野心家の社會の少數者に過ぎない。斯くして與黨互に取つて代はるの結果は、公事たるべき行政府をして、公論を経とし、相互の利益を緯とせる首尾一貫せる健全なる經論の機關たらしめずして、與黨の狂的行爲の反映たらしむることゝなるのであります。

以上申述べた様な結社や協會が、時に如何程民衆一般の目的に叶ふことがあつても、年を経て事の進むうちには、有様は巧慧譎詐野心ありて主義なき輩の、之を利用して人民の權利を蹂躪し、個人に政柄を横奪するに有効なる機關となつて

でも充分なる代理的事務を遂ぐることは出来ない。其は必ず凡ての同盟が凡ての時に於て經驗した違犯、中斷を繰返すに決つて居る。この重大なる道理に留意した所から諸君は最初の法策を改めて、従前のものよりは一層緊密なる統一を齎らし、又各州共通の案件を一層有効に處理することの出来る新憲法を採用せられたのである。かくして成立した政府は、諸君自身の選擇の結晶である。誰に動かされ、誰に壓せられた譯でもない。充分に討究し、慎重に熟慮した上で採用したものであつて、其主義に於て、其權力の配合に於て、全然自由意志に基いて居る。安全に兼ねるに元氣を以てし、其中には自ら修正するを得る條項も具て居るのであるから、これは諸君が義として之を信任し、之を支持して行くべき道理のものであります。之が局に當るものを尊重し、其法律を遵奉し、其法案に倚賴して行くといふことは眞の自由の原則より来る義務であります。我政体の基礎は人民が政府の憲法を作り、また之を變更する權利を有するといふ事にあるのである。然し憲法はいかなる時に於ても現存し、未だ以て人民全體の公明合法の處置に依て變更せられざる限りは、神聖にして何人も之を犯かすことを許さぬものである。人民

て近頃有益な教訓を受けたのである。それは外でもない西班牙との條約が政府折衝の結果として出來、それが上院滿場一致の批准を得、合衆國全体を通じて普くこの事件に對して満足の意を表したといふことは、合衆國政府の政策であり、延いては大西洋沿岸諸州は西部のミシシッピ問題に對する利害に好意を持て居ない、と言ひふらした事の、一向に根據のない誣説であつたといふことは動かすべからざる證據である。西部諸州の人達は自身二つの條約を締結する目撃者であつた。一つは大英帝國、一は西班牙國、この條約に代りて西部の人は其繁榮を確にせんとするに當り、我外國關係に關して、かうありたいと思ふことを総て得ることが出來たのである。既に一致統一に依りてこの利益を得たる以上は、その利益を保持せんとするに於ても亦一致統一に依頼するのが賢明な策であるのである。若し彼等間に萬一、彼等を其同胞より分離せしめ、外人と合せしめんとする様なものがあつても、此輩の所説に耳を傾くべきではないのであります。

扱この一致統一といふことを有効にし且つ永久にしやうとするには、全体を統治する政府が是非必要であります。各部の同盟といふことでは、如何に嚴格にし

府の補助的事業、各課局を定めて之を司らしめたならば、此經驗は必ず満足すべき結果を來たすと信すべき證據を持てゐるものである。之は立派に充分に行てみる價值ある實驗であります。かく統一といふことの我國家の各方面に亘りて有力にして明白なる理由の存する以上は、實際行動により到底それが不可能なりといふ證明の立ざる今日、如何なる方面に於ても、此の結果を弱くすることに努める如き民衆の愛國心なるものは、正に眉に唾すべきであると思ふのである。

扱我統一の累となるべき原因を篤と考察するに、黨派を地理的に區別して呼ぶといふことよりその原因が起りはしまいかといふ、容易ならぬ心配が起るのであります。北部黨、南部黨、太西洋黨、西部黨、さうして策士などが或は地方的利害、地方的意見に其の相違があるといふ様な心を持たせ様と努めるかも知れない。蓋し特殊の地方に勢力を収めやうとする黨畧の一として、よく他地方の意見目的等を讒誣することがある。注意を怠らなくてもかういふ誣説の爲めに嫉妬憤怒の情を起すことは間々あるものである。其の結果として友和親睦の間柄にあるべき筈のものが互に疾視反目することになる。西部諸州の在住民は此點に於

の結果、州と州との紛擾内亂を免かるゝことが出来るのである。この紛擾内亂の爲に四隣の諸外國は既に數々困難に遭ふて居る。州と州との競争からでも直に紛擾は起こる。加へて反對せる外國の合從、連衡、陰謀が煽動もすれば猛烈にすることもあります。尙又統一して居ればかの舊式な軍事的設備の必要を避けることが出来る。この軍事的設備は如何なる形式の政府の下に在りても、自由の爲には不吉のものである。特に共和的自由の爲には仇敵視すべきものである。それであるから諸君は、一致統一といふ事を自由の最高中心であると思はなければならぬのであります。苟くも自由を愛するものは、又統一の保全といふことに眷々の情を運ばなければならぬのである、

陳べ來つたことは、苟くも理を解し道を愛する人には、傾聽に値する詞と首肯せられるであらう。而して統一を維持するといふのが眞に國を思ふものゝ本願でなければならぬのである。或は共同政府が餘りに大なる權力を擁するに至るといふ懸念があるかも知れぬが、經驗に依て解決せしめたれば如何。かゝる場合に空論に耳を假すといふことは一種の罪惡である。私共は適當に全体を統一し、政

したのである。然し猶之からます／＼その販路は發達することであらう。西部諸州はまた東部から其生活に必要な物資の供給を受けて居るのである。而してそれよりも更に將來重要になると思はるゝことは、西部は必ず其物産を捌く上に於て、合衆國太西洋方面の海運力が、一國民として割く可らざる共同利害の關係に立つ精神に基きて、將來いよ／＼其噸數を増し、其勢圏を擴くすることに俟つの大なるものあるに相違ないのである。西部諸州は、或は何等か他の方法を案じて、この主なる利益を得やうとしても、或は獨自一個の力に頼るとか、或は離脱して外國と不自然的に聯合して行ふといつても、その到底満足に得る能はざるは明かであります。

かういふ次第で、この國家の四境は何れも統一といふことに直接にして又特殊の利益を蒙つて居るのであるが、同時に又四境合して一となつて居れば、資力を一にし努力を一にする結果、その力は一層強大となり、資財は一層豊富となり、其に伴ふて外より來る危險に對する保證も一層堅固になり、外國の爲に平和を攪亂せらるゝことも其數を減ずるのである。尙特に無限の價值のあることは、統一

あります。

かくいろ／＼と申上げると、諸君も道理上然るべしと首肯せらるゝであらうが然かし諸君の利害に直接關係すべき事柄が起る時に、たゞ覺束ない事になるのである。茲に於て我國家の全体に涉りて、何は扱て措いて第一によく／＼注意し一致統一を守護し、保全するといふ必要を見出すのであります。

例へば北部諸州は同一政府の施行する同一の法律に保護せられたる南部諸州と自由自在に通交し得られて、南部の物産に仰ぎ、海運業若くは通商業に於ける一大資源を得て居る。又工業の貴重なる材料を得て居る。南部諸州も亦同様に通交して、北部の其事業に依り農業を發達せしめ、其通商を膨脹せしめて居る。而して北部の海員を自己の水道に伴ひ來て、其爲に南部の海運業が活潑になるといふ事になる。かうしてさまざまに國家の全体の海運業に貢獻すると同時に、自己の力にて能はざる海運力の保護をも仰いで居るといふ事になる。東部諸州は又西部諸州と同様に通交して、内地に於ける水陸両面の交通機關の日に月に改良發展してゆく結果、其外國よりの輸入品、若くは東部の製造品の大切なる販路を見出

培養しなければならぬ。之を以て諸君の政治上の安全と繁榮との守護神である
と考へる習慣をつけ、細心の懸念を以て其保全に注意し、如何にかして之を捨て
ゝも構はぬといふ如き舉動の見ゆる場合には、之を恥しめなければならぬ。此
の國家の一部分を他の部分より分離せしめ、各個の方面を一に繋ぐ神聖なる結
びの紐を弱くする様な企に對しては、義憤の眼を睜らなければならぬのであり
ます。

情義の上からも、利害の上からも、是非諸君はかうなくてはならぬのである。
苟くも其國の國家に生れて市民となり、若くは進んで市民となつた以上は、其國
家は諸君の愛情を集中すべき權利を持て居る。亞米利加人とい名は、諸君の國民
的資格に附着して居る以上、地方的區別に基くあらゆる名稱以上に、愛國心の正
當なる矜持を高からしむべきである。幾分の内容外形の差違はあるとしても、諸
君は同一の宗教、儀禮、習慣及び政治的原理を有して居る。諸君は共同の旗幟を
翻して共に其下に戦ひ、共に其下に凱旋せられた。諸君の持してゐる獨立自由は
共に語り、共に努め、共に危きを冒し、共に艱難を凌ぎ、共に勝利を得た精華で

先づ自由を愛するといふことであります。之は諸君のあらゆる心緯に織込まれで居りますことで、此の愛着を堅固にする様にと、私から特に御勧め申す必要はあ
るまいと思ひます。

政府の統一、之があつて始て諸君が一國民たるを得るので、これも今では諸君
の疎かならず思ふて居らるゝ所である。また正に然るべき事で、此中心があれば
こそ、諸君の其獨立の宮殿も建ち、内に於る安寧、外に於る平和、諸君の安全と
繁榮と、諸君の尊重して已まざる自由も、皆之に依りて支ならるゝのであります
然し諸君の心の裡に藏める此の眞理に對する確信を弱くしやうと、種々の原因、
種々の方面から、様々に苦心し、色々工夫を廻らすものがあることは、容易に
豫想せらるゝものでありまして、實に此の政治的要素に對して、内敵外敵の砲は
絶ゆることなく、或時は盛に、或時は勢を伏せ、又は窠を構へて此處に向て来る
のであります。それ故諸君は此の國民的統一といふことが、國民全體又は各個人
の幸福に及ぼす價値の莫大であるといふことを、切實に諒察なさるといふことが
極めて大切な事であります。諸君は此の統一といふことを丁寧に常に確乎と愛護

を希ふものであります。

私の告別の辭はこれにて止むべきが至當と思ひます。然し諸君の幸福を思ふ衷情より、私が一生涯忘れることの出来ない愛國の至情より、不測に起る危險に對する杞憂の情より、此の場合に臨んで止むに止まれず、平生深く省慮し、尠からず考察した結果、諸君が國民としての惠澤を永遠に享けんとするには、かういふ考を持つことが極めて大切であると思ひついた事共を、茲に披瀝し、諸君の精嚴なる慎議を仰ぎ、反覆批評をも得たいと思ふのであります。私はこの考をこれ迄よりは一層自由に諸君に申上る事が出来るといふのは、諸君の御高察の如く、之れ一に將に別れんとする親友が、何等利己的動機によりて其思慮判斷を左右するといふ恐れのない境地に立つて申上ることが出来るからであります。且つは諸君は曩にも同様の場合に於て、寛量を以て私の意見を許容して下すつたことも記憶して居るからであります。

私をして忠實にして堅忍なる奉公に依りて、勿論熱誠餘りて益する所はなかつたのでありませうが、私の移し難き國家愛護の念を表明するの機會を與へられたことに關しては、更に厚く感銘して居るのであります。若し又私が爲し來つた所に幾何かの公益があつたとすれば、其は情熱八方に激して兎角に邪徑に逸し易き場合に於ても、時には形勢の疑はしい様な場合があつても、定めなき運命の變轉が人心を沮喪せしむる場合があつても、諸君が常に變らず不肖を翼けて下すつた故に、其處に努力の中心基礎を得、其處に計畫の保證を得て、遂に其目的を成就することを得たのでありまして、是は諸君の名譽とし、且我國史に於る模範の事蹟として、永く忘れない様にして戴きたいのであります。この考を深く心に體して何卒天が引續き諸君に對して其最上の惠澤を下して、諸君の一致と友愛の情とが永遠に變らず、諸君の手づから作りし憲法は神聖に守られ、其行政は各部に涉りて賢智と美徳の檢印を得、約言すればこの自由の政治を受くる合衆國の人民は、細心以て此天惠を保有し、慎重以て之を使用し、其幸福を全ふし、未だ此自由の惠澤に浴せざる各國民の讚美を受け、愛好を蒙り、採擇の榮を荷ふに至らんこと

て申上げて置きました。この度この信任を免るして戴くに當りて、私の一言申上げて置き度い事は、私は忠實なる心事を以て、政府を組織し運用するに際し、平素誤り易き判斷を以て居る私に出來得る限りの努力を致したといふ事であります。最初から自分の菲德淺才に心付かない譯ではなかつたのでありますが、其後の經驗は、自分より見ても、或は他から見れば尙更であります、私の引退の希望を愈々強く致されました。且つ日々寄る年波の力は、益々閑散の地に就くことが私に取て必要でもあり、望みでもあるといふ事を教へて呉れます。若し在職中私の爲した事に格別の價值が附せらるゝ様な事があつても、其はその職にあつた時丈けの事であるといふ事は私の満足する所でありまして、今や熟慮の結果政治舞臺を引退せんとするに當ても、愛國の心が之を留めないと思ふて自ら慰める次第であります。

扨て私の政治的公生活の行程を終らんとする時機に臨んで、我親愛なる國家が不肖に數多の名譽を與へられたといふ事に關して深く感謝して居るといふことを申上げずには居られないのであります。尙ほ又堅固なる信任を以て援助下され、

之を御受して今日迄引續き此職にあつた所以は、偏に義務の一念と、且つは諸君の御希望に對して之を無にするのは禮を失ふものであるといふ事から、いつも私情を棄てゝの事であつたのであります。私はかうして心ならずも公職にありましたが、常に閑地に勇退することが出来たならばと、また考へなければならぬ事由もあつて、其を希望して居たのであります。前回の選舉の前にも、かうしたいといふ心が募りまして、既に其旨を諸君に發表する演説の用意を致した程でありましたが、當時は對外關係轉た險惡を極めて居たのに深く考慮する點もあり、又私の信賴して居ります方々の多數の御勸告もありましたので、已むなく其考を捨てた様な次第でありました。幸にして諸君の心配して居らるゝ國家は、今や外に對しても内に於ても、最早私の希望を遂行しても、本分にも背かず失禮にも當らない様になつて居ります。それ故國家現在の情況に於ては、何れ程私の任に當るのを悦んで下さる方々でも、この引退の覺悟を否定さるゝことはあるまいと信ずるのであります。

私が初めて諸君の熱誠なる信任を御受け致した當時の感想は、適當の機會に於

親友並に市民各位

我合衆國政府の行政を主宰すべき市民を新に選舉すべき時期も近づきました。この重要な任務を果すべき人物を指定することに、諸君の考慮を用ゆべき時が現に到着して居るに就いては、此際其候補者の人々の中に私を加へて戴くことを辭退致す覺悟であるといふことを豫め諸君に御知らせ申して置くのが、世論を喚起する助けともなうし、旁々至當の事であると信するのであります。

私が此覺悟を致したに就いては、善良なる市民の國家に對する關係に伴ふ凡ての事柄を、嚴密に考慮致した上の事であります。目下の私の地位で黙して居れば或は推薦を受くる様になるので、之を辭退致すに就ては、國家將來の休戚を思ふ熱心が減じたとか。又は諸君のこれまでの親切に對する感佩の念が薄くなつたからなごいふ理由では決してない。却て辭退することがこれらの理由と兩立するといふ充分の確信に基づいての事であるといふ事を是非諸君の御諒察を仰ぎたいと思ふのであります。

不肖既に兩度までも諸君の選舉の爲にこの大任を承つたのであります。然して

告 別 の 辭

ジョージ・ワシントン

一七九六年九月十七日

利を強奪するは必ず同族の因縁、交際を禍するに至る可きを以て、之を思ひ止らんことを懇請せり。然るに彼等も亦此の情理兼到の聲に耳を假さざりし也。これ我等が獨立せることを宣言し、彼等を以て、世界の他のものに對すると同じく戰爭に臨みては敵、平和に際しては友人なりとなすの已むを得ざるに至れる所以也

此の如く我等亞米利加合衆國の代表者は、國民議會を開き、世界の至上たる審判者に對し、我等の意志の正直なることを陳述し、此等植民地の善良なる人民の名に於て、又其權威に依りて、茲に之を公布して曰く、此等植民地の合衆國は自由獨立の邦國たり。又理に於て、然らざる可からず。彼等は今や英國君主に對する忠誠を脱し、彼等大英國國家との政治的關係は悉く之を解かざる可からず。而して自由獨立の國家として、我等は戰爭を執行し、平和條約を締結し、同盟を結び、通商を開き、其他凡て獨立國の正當に爲得べき一切の要務を行ふ全權を有す

——而してこの宣言を保有せんが爲に、固く神聖なる攝理の保護を倚賴し、我等一同互に我等の生命、我等の財産、我等の神聖なる名譽を擔保す。

我人民の生命を損せり。——彼は現に外國雇兵の大軍を輸送の途中に在り、依

て以て最も野蠻なる時代にも殆んど前例なく、且つ全く文明國の君主と稱する價値無き殘忍不誠實に其の端を發せる死滅、荒廢、暴壓の行を完成せんとす。——

彼は我人民を海上に捕へて、強て劍銃を執り故國に敵し其親友同胞の死刑執行者となるか、其手に依りて自ら倒るゝの已むを得ざるに至らしめたり。——彼は

我等の間に内亂一揆を煽動し、我境外の住民、殘忍なる印度人を蹶起せしめんとせり。彼等の戰爭定規は知るべし、凡て老幼、男女、境遇の別なく盡く之を屠戮するに在り。かゝる暴政の相次ぎ行はるゝ毎に、我等は辭を卑ふして之を革新せんことを嘆願せり。而して屢次の嘆願も唯屢次の虐待を得たるのみ。君主の性行如是、暴君と定義すべきあらゆる所行を特色とするに於て、我等自由民の統治者たるに適せざる也。我等は又我英國の同胞に對して注意を缺きたるにあらず。我等は絶えず彼等の立法部が我等に對して其越權たる立法權を推擴する非を鳴らせり。我等は我等のこの土に移住安堵するに至れる事情を彼等に對し陳述領解を促せり。彼等が本來の正義と俠骨とに訴へ、我等同族の好誼に依りて、是の如き權

を待たずして常備軍を編成せり。——彼は行政に對して軍隊を獨立せしめ、又

其上位に置かんとせり。——彼は他と結托して我等を憲法の容さざる、法律の認

めざる別箇の法律に服從せしめんとし、虛名なる立法部の諸種の法案を裁可せり

曰く、我等の間に武裝せる軍隊を多數駐屯せしむる案。曰く、州の住民を死傷せ

しめたる時單に形式にすぎざる訊問により、之を罰せざらしめんとするの案。曰

く、我等の同意を俟たずして我等に課税するの案。曰く、陪審の特權を數々奪へ

ること。曰く犯罪を檢斷するを名として、無辜の我等を海外に放つこと。曰く、近

隣の領地に於て英吉利法律の自由なる組織を廢し、其地に獨裁政府を設け且つ海

外に其境界を擴張し、以て此地植民地に同一なる專制政治を輸入するの例を示し

其の道を開きたること。曰く、我等の特許證權を奪ひ、我等の最も尊重せる法律

を廢し、根本的に我政府の形式を變更せること。——曰く我等の立法部を閉鎖し

如何なる場合に於ても彼等自ら我等に代りて法を立つるの權利ありとせること、

彼は此地統治の權を擲ち、我等を以て其保護の埒外に在るものと宣し、我等に對

して戰爭を賭せり。——彼は我海上を掠め、我沿岸を切かし、我都邑を燒き、

るにあらざれば通過するを許さざる也。これこの權利は人民に取りて貴重なること測る可らずして、唯壓制者に於て恐る可しとなすのみ。——彼は立法部を

特に不便宜なる、且つ公文書文庫と隔りたる所に召集せり。これ一に議員を疲勞せしめ以て其提案に同意せしめんが爲めのみ。——彼は數々代議院を解散せり

これ議院が斷々乎として彼が人民の權利を侵害するに反對せるを以て也。——

彼はかゝる解散の後、長く總選舉を執行することを拒めり。爲に立法權は之を全滅する能はざるが故に、之を行使するの任は一般人民に歸せり。この間國家は外よりは侵入の危險に頻し、内は動亂止まず。——彼は此地諸州の人口増加

を妨げんと努め、之が爲に彼は外國人の歸化法を遮止し、移民獎勵法の通過を拒み、新に土地を收用するに條件を加へたり。——彼は又裁判所設置の法案を裁

可せずして、司法權の事務を妨げたり。——彼は裁判官の其在職の年限、其俸

給額と給與との一に彼の意志に依りて決すべきものとせり。——彼は多くの新

官職を設け、我等人民を虐げ、我等の資産を蝕ひ盡さんが爲めに、斯地に多數の官吏を派遣せり。——彼等は我等の間に、事なきの際に於て、我立法部の同意

く慣れたる形式を革め、新に自己の權利を主張せんよりは、忍び得る限り之を忍ぶの傾向あること、凡ての經驗の示す所也。然りと雖公權の濫用、權利の横奪踵を接し、其目的とする所常に同一にして人民を絶對的專制政治に屈せしめんとする企圖たること明らかなるに於ては、かゝる政府を放擲し、人民の安固に對する新護衛を具ふるは、是人民の權利也。人民の義務也。此土植民地の忍び難きを忍び而して今や其従前の政府の組織を變更するの已むを得ざるに至りたる理由を述べん。

現大英國王の歴史は反覆民を虐げ、權利を強奪せる歴史にして、直接主眼とする所悉く此地の諸州に絶對的壓制政治を布かんとするに在り。希くは事實を公直なる世界大方に呈して之を證せん。——英國王は最も健全なる幸福に缺く可からざる法律の裁可を拒めり。——彼は焦眉の急を要する法律を、其裁可を得るに至る迄は其施行を中止すといふにあらざれば、通過せしむ可からざることを知事に命せり。而して之を中止するや、全く之を等閑に附して顧みざる也。——彼は人民の廣き土地供給の法律を、當該人民の立法部に於ける代表の權利を放棄す

亞米利加十三州合衆國一致の宣言

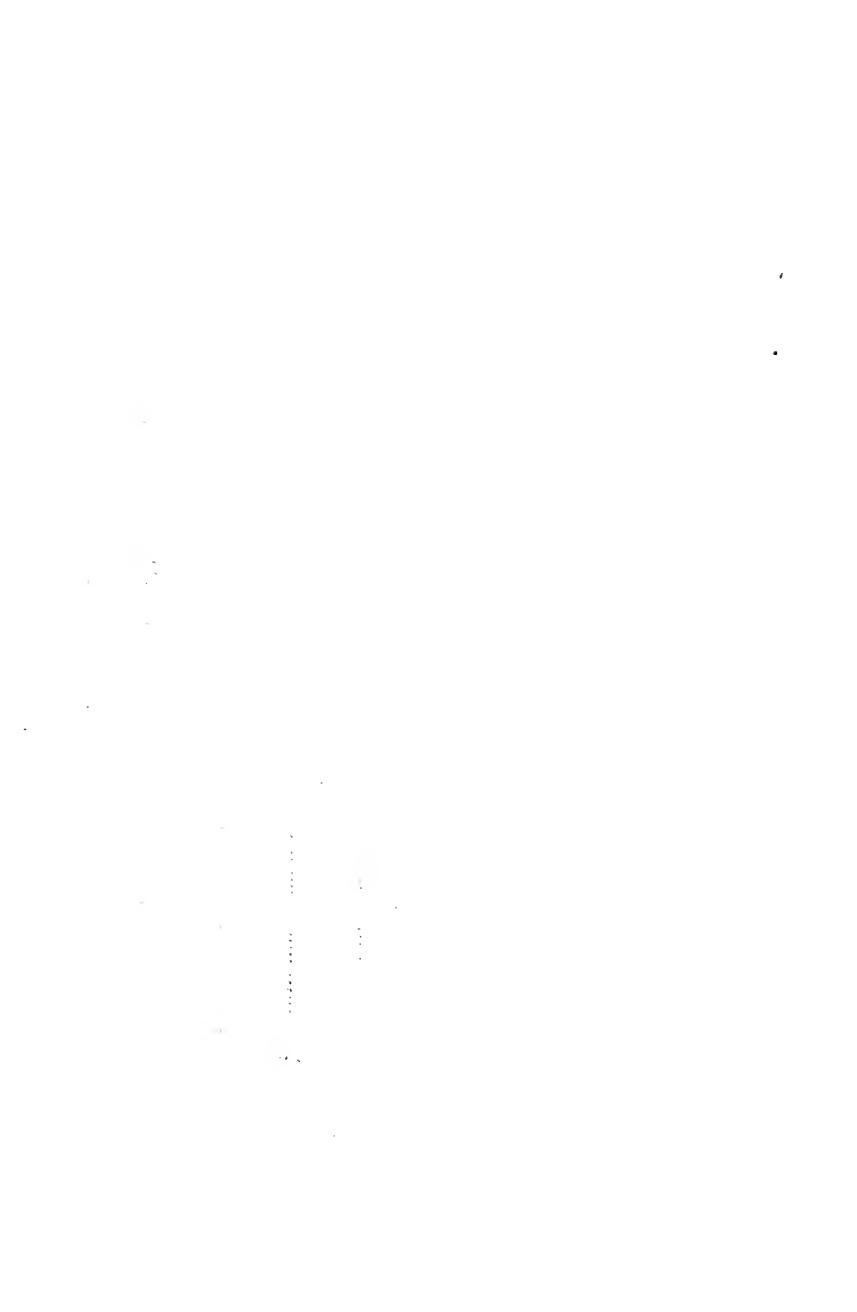
人事の過程に於て、一國民が彼等を他民衆と繋ぎたる政治的團體を解き、世界の列強の間に、天の則と天の神との、彼等に許し給ふ別個平等の地位を占めんとするに當りて、人類の意見に對する恭敬の念は、彼等をして別立するに至らしめたる原因を宣言すべきことを要す。

我等は左の眞理を自明なりと信ず。曰く、凡ての人は生れながらにして平等也。曰く、凡ての人は造物主より奪ふべからざる權利を賦與せらる。曰く、この權利といふは、生命、財産、幸福の要求等也。曰く、政府とはかゝる權利を安固ならしめんが爲に人間の間に設けられたるものにして其官權の本づく所は治者の同意に在り。如何なる政府と雖も、苟くも此の目的を破壊せんとする虞あるに至らば、之を改革し或は之を廢止し、新政府を設け、人民の以て其安全と幸福とを獲得するに近しとする原則に其の基礎を据え、理想の形式に其權力を組織するは、蓋し人民の權利也。洵に既に久しく存在せる政府は、淺薄なる又一時的なる原因の故に之を變更すべきものにあらざるは深慮の教ゆる所也。茲を以て人類は其久し

獨立の宣言

一七七六年七月四日

議會にて



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例言

一本書の翻譯に際し、編修室同人の淺學菲才なる、爲に翻譯難に遭遇せること一再ならず。全力を悉せるも猶ほ時に辭句の不適なるものあるべし。大方の寛容を仰ぎ、原文と對照して眞意を解せられんことを望む。

一布哇縣知事ビンカム氏、スター、ブレチン主幹フアリントン氏、アドヴァタイザア主筆マセソン氏の序文を得たることを、讀者諸君と共に光榮とするところなり、

一編纂發行に關し種々の點に就て、P.H.ダツチ氏の懇切なる助言に指導せられたることに多大なり。茲に厚意を謝す。

千九百十七年六月

本願寺

編修室同人

前述したる諸大統領の文字を理解するに如くはないのである。

千九百十七年六月

本願寺別院にて

今村

恵

猛

是等の教書を讀誦するを良いことと思ふのである。

依てこの度は等の大文字を集め、原文と譯文とを收め、市民啓發の微意に基き之を大方に薦むることゝなつた。

日本人は内に居るものも外に居るものも、今後ますます精確に米國と米國精神とを理解する必要がある。今日まで日本人の米國に對する知識は、ともすれば精確と稱することが出来なかつた。而して眞に精確に米國と米國精神とを理解せんと欲するならば、此五大文字はどうしても見逃してはならぬものである。

吾眞宗では信心爲本、王法爲本といふことを説いてをる。精神生活の中心は信心より外にない。現實生活の中心は國の掟である。王法といふのは國法である。

米國に生活しつゝあるものは、何處までも米國法に従つて、米國法を尊重せねばならぬ。金剛堅固の信心を獲て、米國法を尊重する人こそ、此地に於ける眞實の眞宗信徒と稱することが出来る。かゝる人を二諦相資の人と云ふのである。米國法に従ふ者は必ず米國の國家精神を知らねばならぬ。米國の國家精神を知るには

きである。其措辭の莊重にして高明なる、獨立の宣言書、ワシントンの告別の辭、リンカーンのゲチスボルグの演説と併せて、眞に歴史的の大文字と稱せられ米國の家庭必ず其一を備へざるはないといふ程である。

上に挙げたる敎書の中、獨立宣言書に就いては多くを言ふの必要はない。ワシントンの告別の辭は、愛國の至誠言辭に溢れ、一字一句米國民不磨の寶典と稱してよい。リンカーンのゲチスボルグの演説は、*The Government of the People by the People, For the People* の由て來る處で、之を讀んで奮起せざるものは米國人にして米國人にあらずと稱せられて居る。

右の四篇と大統領モンロウの第七年度敎書を併せ見れば、歷々として米國精神の何ものなるかを知ることが出来る。只是等の大文字は傳聞して之を口にすることもあるが、未だ之を熟讀し精攻した者は尠い。是等の大文字は人種の如何に拘らず、米國市民として是非共精讀せねばならぬものである。而して吾人は『五ヶ條の御誓文』『憲法發布の詔勅』『教育勅語』『戊申詔書』を日夜拜誦すると同時に、

緒言

我本願寺布哇別院は曩に市民啓發運動當事者の切なる勸誘に従ひ、且つ二諦相資の宗意に基き、布哇出生日本系市民啓發に賛同する事に決して、既に大會を開催し、又該運動に對する相談役として二名の理事を出し、この事業の援助をしてをる。されど猶實質上の貢獻をすることが出来ないのを残念に思つてゐる。

目下の米國の國情は、生をこの土に營むものゝ坐視して居る可き時ではない。特に眞宗は報恩主義を吾等の生活の基本としてをる。報恩の精神を奮起すべき時機、現時に如くはなしと考へ、食糧自給並調節の運動を開始したが、更らに今日の時は市民啓發を促進すべき千載一遇の秋であると思ふ。米國が獨逸と開戰状態となりてより、大統領は宣戰の敎書を發し、兩院は七十億の軍事費を可決し、米國の上下を舉げて愛國心の高潮を見ること、未曾有ともいふべき時機となつたのである。

大統領ウイルソンの宣戰の敎書は、此千載一遇の契機を招來せるものといふべ

爲めの文字を求むる能はず。

こは吾等の社會に於ける日本人種の中に、啓發すべき、且つ教へざるべからざる愛國心なり。こは日本系の亞米利加人に自然に來るべき眞の亞米利加主義の形式なり。而してこは衆人の幸福を個人の利益以上に置く、日本精神の移植と擴大となるが故なり。

吾等は衷心より愛國心を要求す。貴下が流布せんと企てらるゝ前述の五大文字はかゝる愛國心を教ふるものなり。

余は信ず。貴下は布哇に於ける日本系亞米利加青年に對する大事業並にこの縣内の全民衆と布哇とに對しての大事業をなしつゝあり。是等の五大文字の出版のみならず、同目的なる他の事業をなしつゝあることを。

貴下の愛すべき希望と此の壯舉の成功との顯著ならんことを祈る

一千九百十七年六月廿八日

R、O、マセソソ

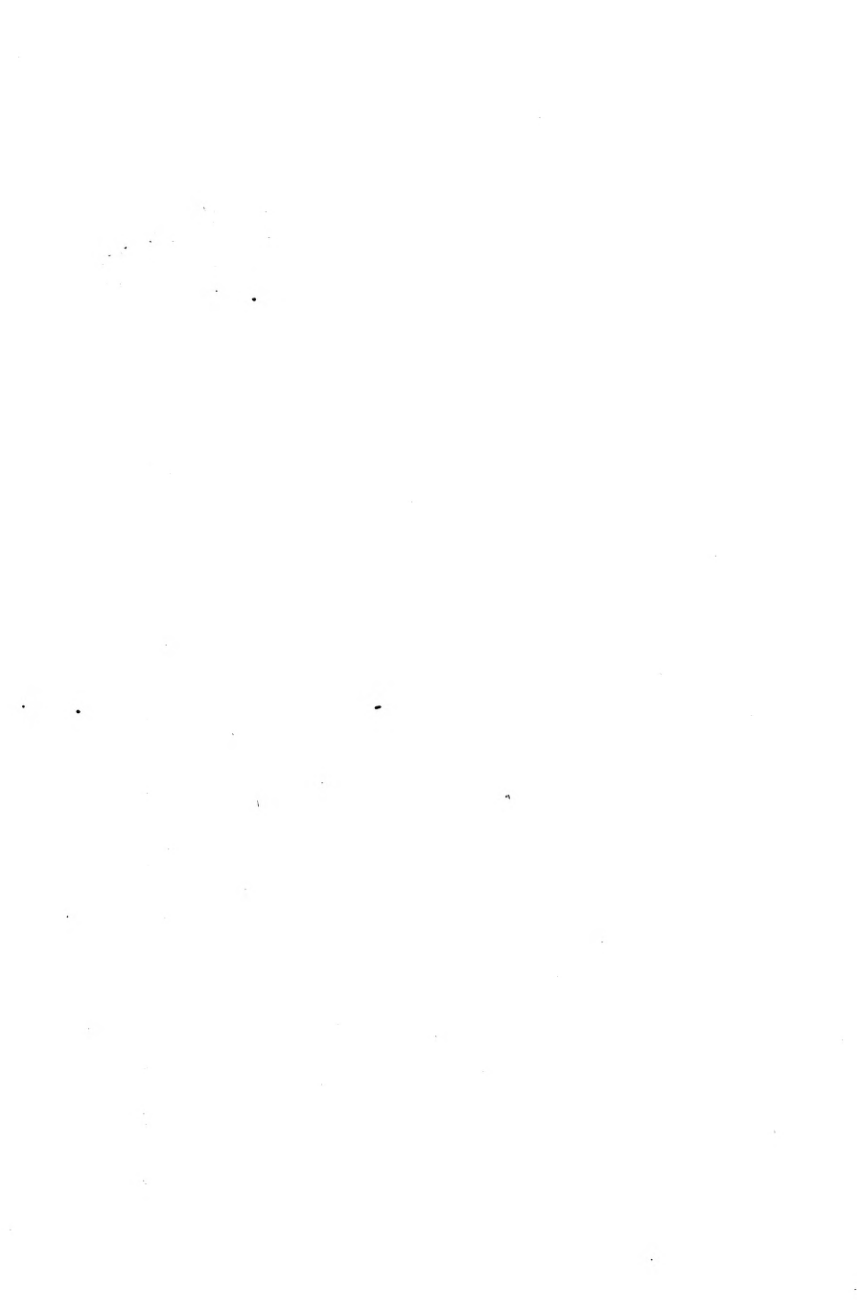
オアフ、ホノル、本願寺別院

監督 今村惠猛殿

拜啓

貴下の教團より亞米利加史上の五大文字、即ちジェフアソン、ワシントン、モンロー、リンカーン及ウイルソンの陳べし處を、小冊子として發行せらるゝ企圖を聞くは余の非常なる歡喜とするところなり。是等の文字は人間の自由と、民主主義の發達と、亞米利加の自由の上に、相互に適當なる關係を有す。余は布哇に於ける日本系の亞米利加青年男女の多數に、眞の亞米利加主義を明瞭に理解せしめ我民主主義の根本原則に輝く光明を齎らし、世界に向つて宣示すべき吾國家の大事業を促進すべき亞米利加人の愛國心に關して、廣き見解を與ふる事に充分なる貢獻をなすべき事を疑はず。

獨立の宣言、ワシントンの告別の辭、モンロー主義の宣明、リンカーンのゲチスボルグの式辭、大統領ウイルソンの開戰の宣言は、愛國心の最高の表現にして各國地理上及國家の範圍に制限せられざる、且つ平常認められざる沒我的奉仕の眞理を力説するものなり。人類に對する奉仕は、是等の文字の凡てを通して活躍しつゝ息つきをれり。何人も利己の爲めに、嫉妬の爲めに、侵畧主義の暗示等の



拜啓

予は衷心より、亞米利加人の愛國心に訴ふる、五篇の教書、即ち獨立宣言書、ワシントンの告別の辭、リンカーンのゲチスボルグの演説と、大統領ウイルソンの宣戰の教書、及大統領モンローの教書を、布哇に於ける亞米利加生れの日本人の前に公にせらるゝ、貴下の計畫に敬意を表す。

この縣内に出生せる兒童は、彼等が生れし國家、即ち亞米利加合衆國に不變の忠誠を心がくる様出來得る限りの教育を受けざる可からず。

この目的に向つて貴下の盡さるゝ貢獻は、必ず眞の亞米利加市民により稱揚せらるゝならん。敬具

ホノルル、スター、ブレチン社

千九百十七年五月十八日

支配人 W、R、ファリントン

ホノル、本願寺別院

監督 今村 恵 猛 殿

獨立宣言は亞米利加合衆國が憲法によりて國家を建設せる海圖と羅針盤と稱すべきものなり。

デヨーヂ、ワシントンの告別の辭は、國民の祖先を感激せしめ、エブラハム、リンカーンのゲチスブルグの演説は、國家の繼承者を鼓舞し、ウツドロロー、ウイルソンの教書は、世界各國の第一線に吾國家を置かんとして、國民を奮起せしめたり。

感情が吾等の心理、精神に徹すると同時に、吾等は並びなき地位に立てる、ワシントン、リンカーン、ウイルソンの、犠牲と勢力の不言實行を、深奥なる叡智を以てなせる行動を通して記憶し、將來の英雄をして留意せしめざる可からず

布哇ホノルルにて

千九百十七年六月一日

布哇縣知事

ルシアス、イ、ピンカム

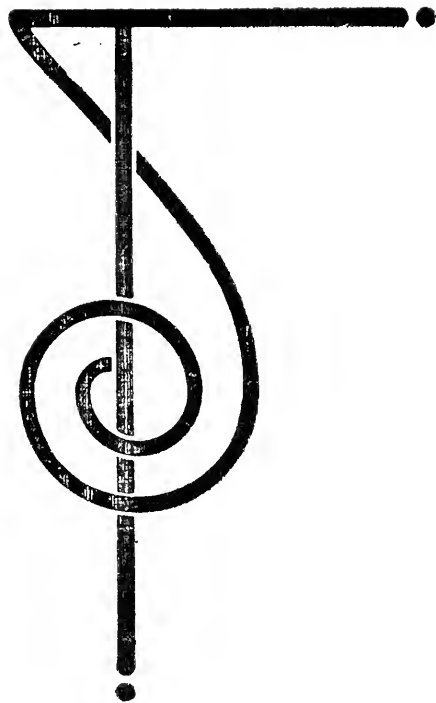
重要なる

敎書及宣言



重要なる

教書及宣言



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